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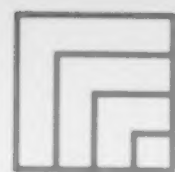
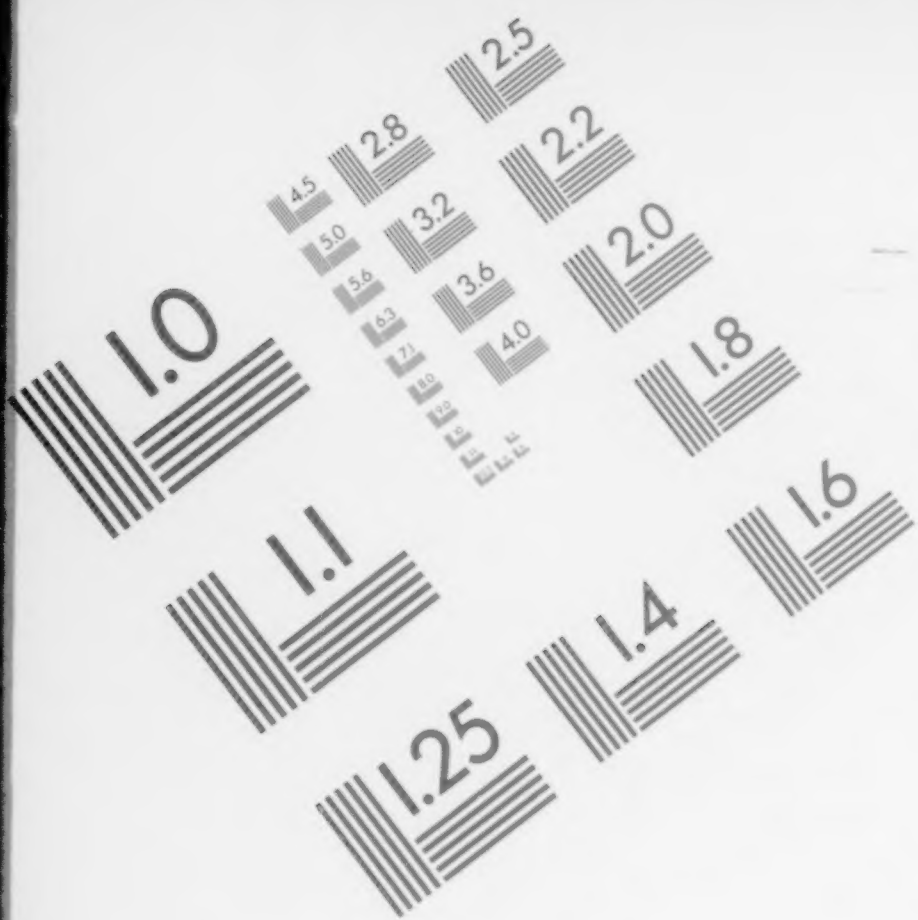
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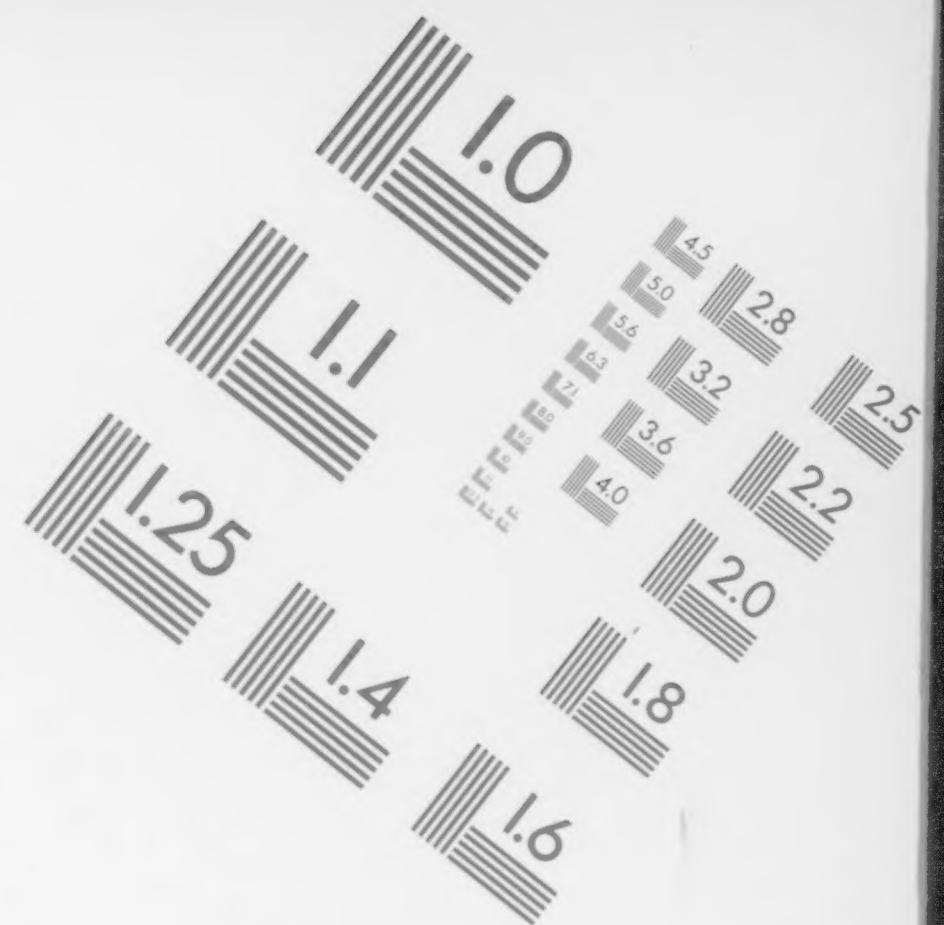


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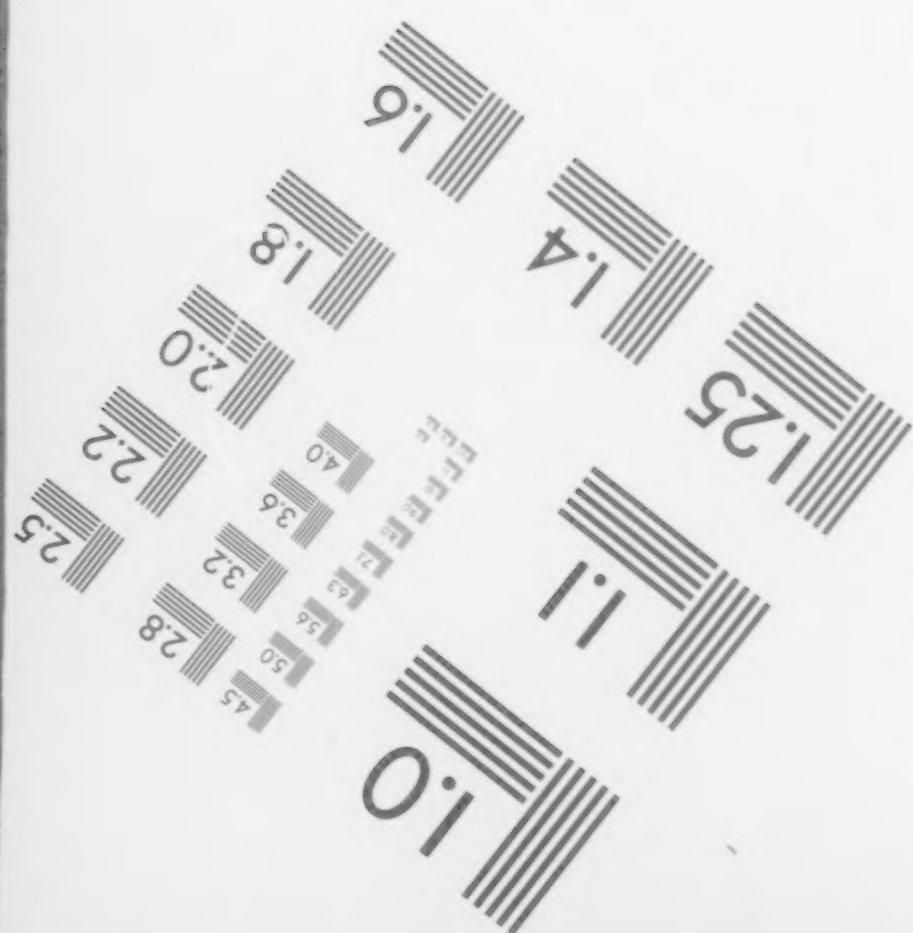
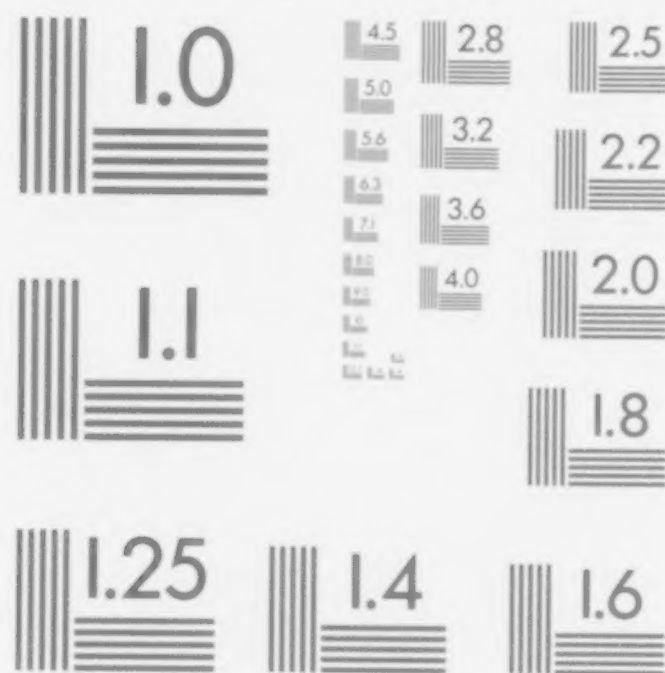
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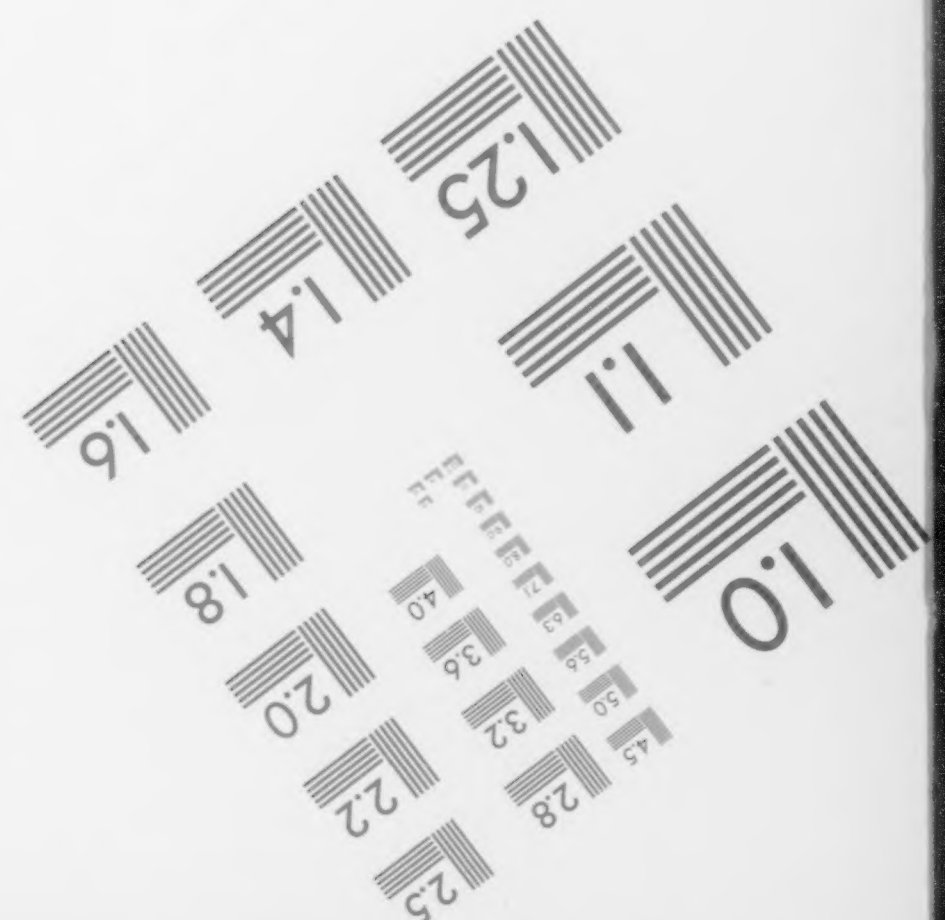
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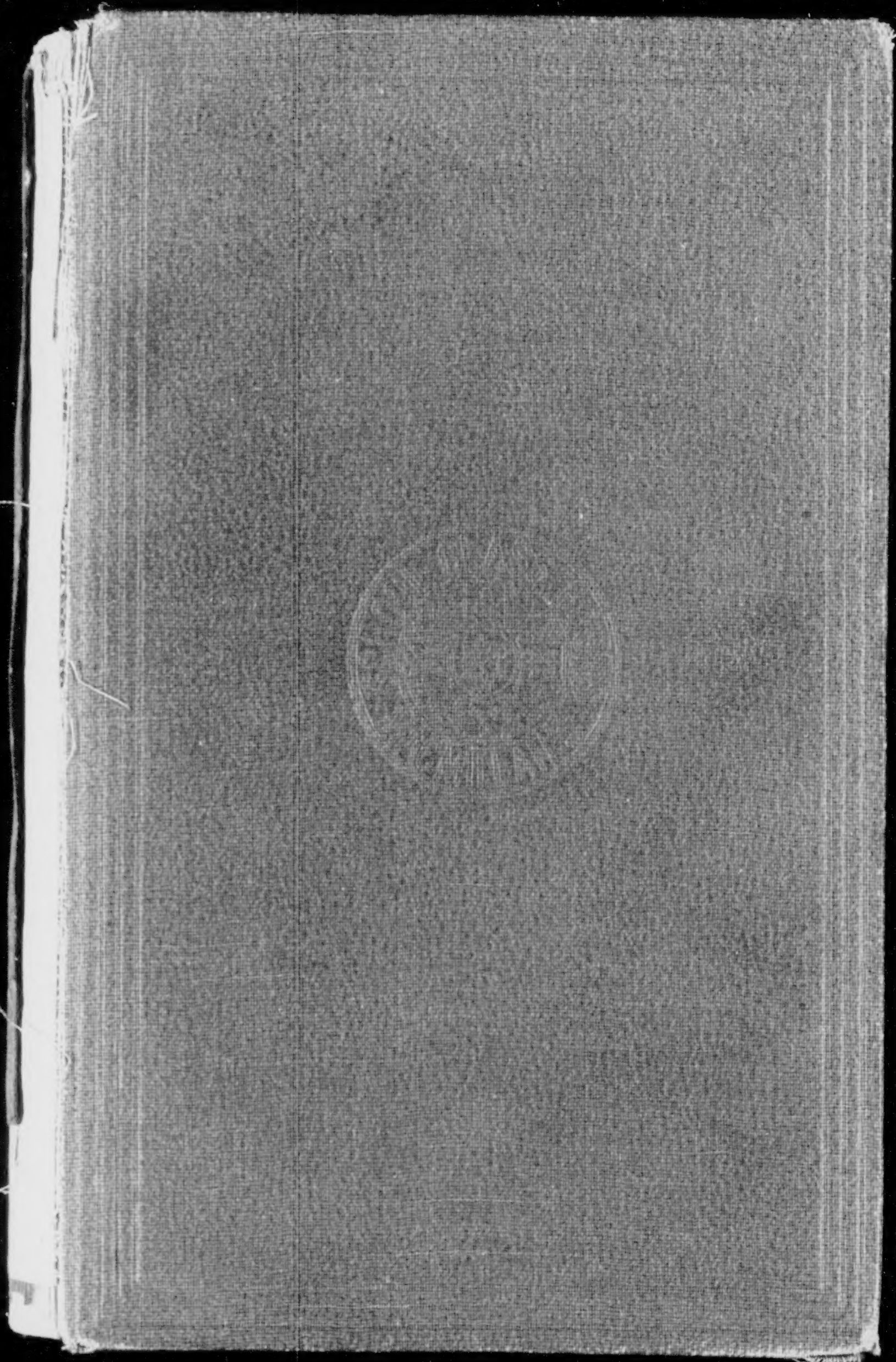


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AESCHINES
IN CTESIPHONTA.



ΑΙΣΧΙΝΟΥ
ΚΑΤΑ ΚΤΗΣΙΦΩΝΤΟΣ

ÆSCHINES
IN CTESIPHONTA

EDITED WITH NOTES AND INDICES

BY

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PREFACE.

ABOUT ten years ago Mr Gwatkin undertook to edit this Oration. The stereotyped text had been revised and settled by him; notes on about the first 160 sections had been set up in type, and were waiting for final correction, when Mr Gwatkin unfortunately found that the pressure of other engagements made it hopeless for him to finish the work. The publishers some time last year therefore asked me to undertake the completion of the edition, as having recently been engaged on a revision of the speech of Demosthenes which was made in answer to it. I have now done what I could in compliance with this wish. The notes in type have been finally revised by me alone for the press; and therefore if there are any errors in them the blame must be mine, while Mr Gwatkin should be credited with the great learning and industry implied in their composition.

For the notes on the last 100 sections I am wholly responsible, as well as for those on the text, for the Introduction, Appendices, and Indices. I have been able also to introduce a certain number of changes in the text in view of more recent criticism. I fear that the result may strike some critics as not

being very homogeneous; but I hope that with whatever defects inseparable from dual authorship, which has not in this case brought with it the advantages of mutual revision, or those resulting from human incuria, something may be found to have been done to throw light on an interesting monument of antiquity, which has been somewhat neglected owing to its necessary rivalry with a greater than itself.

The books most used have been: (1) The editions of Bremi, 1845. Baizer and Sanppe, 1839—50. Ferd. Schultz, 1865. G. and W. Simcox, 1872. G. Weidner, 1872 and 1878. F. Franke (Teubner), 1883. Rufus B. Richardson (founded on Weidner), 1889. (2) Schafer's *Demosthenes und seine Zeit*. F. Blass *die Attische Beredsamkeit*. Schömann, *der Attische Prozess* (ed. 1883—7). Mitchell's *Indexes Graecitatis in Oratoris Atticos*. Meisterhans, *Grammatik der Attischen Inschriften* (1888). L. Leutz, *die Proposition bei den Attischen Rednern* (1886—8). R. C. Jebb, *Attic Orators* (1874). J. P. Mahaffy, *Greek Literature* (1883).

Thirlwall's *History* is constantly referred to, as well as that of Grote (ed. 1869); Shilleto's edition of the *de Falsa Legatione* has also been considerably used, as well as the usual Dictionaries of Antiquities and Biography. For persons no better help can be desired than Pape's *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen* (1884).

The fact of the text being stereotyped, as I said, prevented the introduction of large alterations. I am not altogether sorry for it. A diligent study

of the bold and numerous emendations introduced into the text by Weidner has not encouraged, but rather deterred me from any wish to rival such a performance. The manuscripts no doubt are far from perfect; but they contain generally the oldest and most authentic testimony which we possess, and when we once decide to treat their authority with contempt, we are left face to face with a problem which, to say the least of it, we have somewhat insufficient means of solving.

EVELYN S. SHUCKBURGH.

Cambridge, 1890.

INTRODUCTION.

AESCHINES was a man of brilliant natural gifts, who played a part in a great national crisis perhaps not much less creditably than most of his contemporaries, but whose misfortune it has been to have been matched with a consummate orator, and to have left work which it is for ever impossible to view except in comparison with that of his greater rival. Thus in spite of his natural facility, his verbal presentation of facts, and the strength of his denunciation, his oratory remains that of an amateur (*ὁ πᾶν ἄτεχνος*¹); while that of Demosthenes in comparison has the advantage of genius trained by the principles of art and the discipline of experience. Aeschines would have been the first to acknowledge this. He often warns his hearers against the professional oracles of Demosthenes²; while he describes himself as being an unprofessional speaker, who had merely had the education and followed only the pursuits of an ordinary citizen, without any claim to special genius or great acquirements³; and when he was afterwards requested by the Rhodians to teach them the art of Rhetoric, according to the biographers, he replied that he did not know it himself⁴. But we may easily over-

¹ *Demosthenes de vet. Script.*

² See e.g. *in Ctesiph.* § 204; *in Timarch.* § 170.

³ *ὁμιλῶν δὲ καὶ τοῖς πομπῶς ἐκείνῳ δημοσίων... πᾶσι ὑμῶν ἐπράξην. ἐν ταῖς θυετείαις διατριβαῖς βελύσσεια.* *de F. Leg.* § 181—2.

⁴ *ἑλθὼν δὲ δούρων Ῥώμιων τὸν τέχνην αὐτοῖς διδάξαι τὴν ῥητορικὴν, ἀποκρίσασθαι εἰπόντα μὴ αὐτὸν εἰδέναι.* *Vit. Aesch. Augt. Invert.*

rate this view of Aeschines. Though he was not a professional *λογογράφος*, he lived in an age when everyone who aspired to have any influence in public affairs was an orator with more or less knowledge of technical rules. Few men of ordinary cultivation in our day would be incapable, if compelling circumstances arose, of expressing their views in a fairly readable Magazine Article: and few educated Athenians of the age of the Orators would under like circumstances be incapable of composing a speech more or less conforming to the rules of art. And though Aeschines may have had only the ordinary training of a respectable citizen, he was not a man of ordinary genius; and when he attempted oratory, as the obvious weapon of political life, shewed at once that, with the defects of the amateur,—such as an occasional writer may display in comparison with a trained journalist,—he had the rest of the matter in him. If we turn from the question of artistic excellence, leaving the palm undisputed in the possession of Demosthenes, and consider the moral qualities displayed by the two orators, it seems more difficult to decide. Partisan feeling is not quite dead after more than 2000 years. Historians, who believe in the patriotic virtue and the political sagacity of Demosthenes, must needs denounce the invectives of Aeschines as ambitious fictions or negligent calumnies: yet it would not be difficult to convict Demosthenes of perversions of fact not less shameless; and certainly nothing in all literature, except perhaps certain passages in Cicero's Second Philippic, is to be found more deliberately malicious, and more in violation (as it would seem to us) of every principle of good taste or humanity, than the celebrated description of Aeschines' mother in the *de Coraia*. But such comparisons are not very fruitful. The change of sentiment in our age in regard to such mutual recriminations is in some respects so great, that it is not now easy to make the necessary abatement in forming our estimate of the character of the man who

could utter such words without loss of self-respect or of reputation among his contemporaries. It seems best to put them as far from us as we can, and to endeavour to glean from the speeches on both sides, as well as from other sources, such facts as may enable us to conceive of the man himself, his conduct, and his place in literature.

Archimides², of the deme Colothidiae of the tribe Oeneis, was a son of Afraonidas and Glaucethen. His father was 94 years old in B.C. 343, and had therefore seen a remarkable series of events at Athens. Born five years before the outbreak

*(Group 27.
B.C. 350.
Birth and
parentage of
Archimides.)*

in the Peloponnesian war he had seen Athens at the height of her power, and in the hour of her direst distress; as well as her partial rise again to something of her old position, after Cimon's victories and restoration of her walls (B.C. 394-35). The war had cost him, we are not told how,

¹ In his speech *in Tigra*, § 49 Aeschines says that he was in his 45th year, i.e. in B.C. 345.

The sources for a life of Aeschines, meagre enough, are (1) His own speeches, and the *de Falsa Legatione* and *de Carera* of Demosthenes. (2) A biography in the *Vitae of the Ten Orators* attributed to Plutarch. (3) Two biographies, one by Apollonius of Alabanda (?) of the 1st century A.C., and another by some unknown grammarian. (4) Philostratus *Vit. sophist.* I, 18. (5) Two short articles in Suidas. (6) Two notices in Photius *Bibliotheca*, cod. 61 and 264. Of these the most ancient seems to be that of the Pseudo-Plutarch; next to that the most independent and fair is that of Apollonius, for he at least gives Aeschines' own view of himself as well as that of Demosthenes.

Of modern books, besides the various Greek Histories, such as those of Thirlwall, Grote, and Curtius, accounts of Aeschines will be found in A. Westermann, *Historia Graecæ*, *Abq.* § 58-9; F. Blaes, *die Attische Beredsamkeit*, vol. III. pt. II. p. 129 sqq.; Schafer, *Demosthenes und seine Zeit* (throughout the three volumes); Prot. Mahaffy, *Greek Literature*, vol. II. p. 393 sqq.; Prof. Jobb, *Attic Orators*, vol. II. p. 293 sqq.

his means of livelihood, and had prevented him from following his favourite pursuit of training for the great games. He had shared in the banishment of the constitutional party by the Thirty in B.C. 404-3, and in its return¹. He seems to have been then engaged in some of those military operations in Asia Minor which followed the attack of Tissaphernes on the Ionian cities in B.C. 397; but in what capacity and under what commander we are not told, though his son says that he distinguished himself for personal bravery². The mother of our Orator was Glaucothoe (or, as it is sometimes found, Glaucois or Leucothoe), daughter of Glaucois of Acharnae, and sister of Cleodorus. It seems certain that neither Atrometus nor Glaucothoe were members of wealthy or distinguished families, and Aeschines nowhere makes any such claim. Yet his father's family was not mean; it belonged to a phratry which used the same altars with the Eteobutadae (a family of some distinction which was accustomed to supply the Priestess of Athena Polias), and therefore was no doubt more or less remotely connected with it in blood. And though Atrometus was poor, Aeschines appears to have had the ordinary education of a boy of respectable parents. He was strong and vigorous in body, and after attaining the legal age for the *dokimasia*³ about 18½ years of

¹ Aeschin. *E. L.* §§ 78, 117.

² *ἀνδραγαθὸν ἐν τοῖς πόλεμοις*. The name Atrometus is shortened by Demosthenes *de Cler.* § 129 to Tremes. Apollonius says that this latter was his original name, which he improved by the addition of the first syllable. This is possible, as the name Tremes (trembler) would be looked upon as ill-omened.

³ Aeschines, *E. L.* § 147. For the Eteobutadae, see Harpocrat. *s. v.* Atheniens 6, 244 c. It was a proverb of those who boasted of high birth to say ἐξ Ετεοβουταδῶν εἶμι καὶ γένοιτο. Apollonius, 7, 52.

⁴ See Appendix B.

have devoted some year or two to the athletic exercises which were the customary employment of youths between the time of puberty and that of full citizenship. But, according to his own statement, he served at once for two years in the local guard or militia, the *περίπολοι*, in which every freeman had to do one, or perhaps two, years duty¹. His father seems meanwhile to have been keeping a boys' school to support his family, which consisted of three sons, Philochares, Aeschines, and Aphobetus; and Demosthenes thinks it a telling subject of reproach to remark that Aeschines as a boy assisted his father in the school². It seems to be between this period and about B.C. 367 that Aeschines began to exert himself to gain his own living. Having a clear and excellent voice (*λαμπρόφωνος*) and good personal appearance, he obtained employment as clerk (*γραμματεὺς*), first apparently to some of the inferior magistrates and then to the Ecclesia³. And it seems probable that it was also in this period that he endeavoured to utilise his

Aeschines in the περὶ πόλεως B.C. 370-2 (3)

Clerk and Actor.

¹ There was a tradition that Aeschines attended the lectures of Plato and Isocrates; but his biographers deny it. Demetrius Phalereus even said that he was a pupil of Socrates, who died ten years before his birth. The whole tradition seems to depend upon a confusion with the Socratic Aeschines the son of Lysanias (Plat. *Apol.* c. 22.)

² Dem. *de F. Leg.* 258. His assertion (*id.* 129) that Atrometus (or Tremes, as he calls him) was a slave assisting Epeius in the school seems more malice.

³ What truth there may be in the repeated assertion of Demosthenes that Aeschines' mother was a priestess in certain disputable private mysteries, and that he assisted her in them, we cannot tell. Aeschines never denies or notices the insult, though he asserts the respectability of her family. There was probably therefore some fact on which the assertion is founded, and of which Demosthenes has given the most hostile interpretation possible.

good voice by joining a company of Tragic Actors, who played both in Athens and the provinces. The Actors with whom he was associated were the best of the day; but he never seems to have risen to taking the chief parts, and was compelled to leave the stage owing apparently to an accident. When playing the part of Oenoneus and pursuing Pelops he stumbled and fell, had to be assisted to his feet by the Chorus-master Samnis, and was consequently hissed off the stage.

But events in Greece, between the 13th and 23rd year of the life of Aeschines, were leading up to such measures on the part of Athens as were likely to give him the opportunity of distinguishing himself in other scenes. A revival of her old maritime supremacy, though on a much reduced scale, had been commenced in B.C. 378 by the formation of the new League of states, whose *synodri* were to meet at Athens, and whose contribution or *syntaxis* was to be paid into the Athenian exchequer for the support of the common interests. The Spartan supremacy in the various Hellenic cities, always oppressive and unpopular, and rendered odious for the last nine years by the disgraceful concessions to Persia of the peace of Antalcidas (B.C. 387), was systematically attacked, until by the Peace of Callias, early in B.C. 371, it was practically brought to an end. But the battle of Leuctra shortly afterwards in the same year changed the position of affairs. Sparta was no longer formidable; but the Theban Government interfered in every direction. Its policy in the Peloponnese might have been viewed with comparative indifference at Athens; but the establishment of a Theban supremacy in Euboea was a menace to the Athenians which they could not bear with equanimity.

¹ See the first Life. Macaulay comments on this, 'a very likely misfortune to happen on the Greek stage, with the unnatural padding and heightening of the human form'.

And when the restoration of Mantinea, and the foundation of Megalopolis by Epaminondas threatened Sparta with the formidable opposition of an ^{B.C. 370.} *Achaean* ^{with Sparta.} Arcadian Union, the Athenians listened to the request of the now humbled Sparta and made with her an offensive and defensive alliance. An Athenian force was despatched (B.C. 370—369) to hold the line of the Oecian range and prevent the march of Epaminondas into Peloponnese. Epaminondas forced his way through and was soon after rewarded by the adhesion of Sicyon. But Philus remained faithful to Sparta, and was consequently subjected to a succession of attacks. The war went on in a desultory fashion for two years; the Spartans were supported by a contingent sent by Dionysius of Syracuse, and inflicted a defeat upon the Arcadians [the 'Tearless Battle' B.C. 368]. Then followed the second expedition of Epaminondas into Peloponnese, which combined the cities for a time in hostility to Sparta; though his departure was followed by fresh disturbances. No city had suffered more than Philus. It was subjected to attacks from Sicyon, which was allied with Thebes, from ^{Battle at the} Argos, Pellene, and Arcadia. But it held to ^{end of the} Sparta, in spite of the periodical wasting of its ^{Nemea B.C.} crops and other hardships which its people had to endure, and won more than one success over its invaders. In B.C. 368 the Athenian general Chares was stationed at Corinth with an army partly of mercenaries and partly of Athenian citizens, and aided the Philistans in conveying the provisions to their town rendered necessary by the wasting of their own territory. Among the Athenian youths serving under Chares was Aeschines (act. 23), and in an engagement in the dry bed of the stream Nemea, where an ambuscade of the enemy was forced, he behaved (he says) with such gallantry as to receive the public commendation of the commanders¹.

¹ Aesch. F. L. 168 *περὶ τὴν Νεμεάδα καλουμένην χαράδον*.

Of what Aeschines was doing for the next four years we have no information. Chares was hastily summoned home in the next year on account of the sudden seizure of Oropus by some exiles in the interests of Thebes. Aeschines probably accompanied him; but no fighting took place. The Athenian expedition returned finding that none of the allies came to its assistance, and the question of Oropus was left to be decided by arbitration¹. The attention of the Athenians was now turned in a different direction. While Corinth and Polus made a separate peace with Thebes, the Athenians entered upon negotiations with the Persian king Artabazus to have Amphipolis declared Athenian territory. In this they were successful. But Amphipolis had to be won by arms in spite of the Royal reserve. Timotheus was sent out with a fleet, and in the course of the years B.C. 365 and 364 conquered Samos, established Athenian authority in part of the Chersonese, and made himself master of many towns in Chalcidice. But he failed to take Amphipolis; and when he turned to attack the Thracian Odrys, in order to secure the Athenian hold on the Chersonese, he found himself threatened by a Theban fleet which Epaminondas had persuaded his countrymen to send with him, in order to defeat the encroachment of the Athenian power, — an interposition in a new sphere of energy, which, though it did not lead to any marked success on the part of the Thebans, caused great bitterness of feeling in Athens. In the same year Pelopidas led a Theban army into Thessaly to attack the tyrant

Xenophon, *Hell.* 7, 2, 15, 20 [in 4, 2, 15 he calls it $\delta\epsilon\chi\alpha\sigma\tau\alpha$] Grote x. 31. — Diol. Sic. [xv, 75] says that Chares defeated the Argives in two battles. If Aeschines had been in both he would probably have mentioned it.

¹ Xen. *Hell.* 4, 1, 1.

Alexander of Paeonia. This expedition, though it cost the life of Pelopidas, was eminently successful. Alexander had to submit to Theban supremacy, as had all the cities of Thessaly.

Such being the formidable nature of the Theban power, and its animus being so decidedly hostile to Athens¹, it was natural that the Athenians should be ready to oppose the extension of its influence. The opportunity soon came. While the events alluded to above had been taking place, the Peloponnese had been torn by intrigues. Sparta wanted to recover Messene, the Eleians Triphylia. Thus in B.C. 366–5 there was war between Elis and the Arcadians, which brought on an invasion of Arcadia by the Spartans (B.C. 365), and a battle near Olympia, at the very time of the Festival, between the Eleians (who had been excluded) and the Arcadians (B.C. 364). The Arcadians seized the treasures at Olympia to pay their men, and then fell to quarrelling among themselves. The general result in the Arcadian towns was the increased power of the wealthier classes, who could alone afford to devote themselves to the war, and a consequent inclination manifested to make terms with Sparta; while the opposite party sent pressing invitations to Thebes to come and prevent such a settlement (B.C. 363–2). The anti-Theban party in Arcadia protested against the sending of a Theban army without invitation, and contrived to get a peace between themselves and Elis concluded in the Pan-Arcadian assembly (B.C. 362). The view of these proceedings held by Epaminondas and the Theban Government was that the Arcadians were guilty of treason to them in making a peace

¹ In advising hostility to Athens, as the dangerous rival now that Sparta was humbled, Epaminondas was reported to have said $\delta\epsilon\iota\ \delta\epsilon\tau\ \tau\alpha\ \tau\eta\varsigma\ \Lambda\alpha\gamma\alpha\lambda\omega\varsigma\ \delta\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\lambda\epsilon\omega\varsigma\ \pi\alpha\pi\alpha\lambda\alpha\iota\alpha\ \alpha\pi\alpha\sigma\tau\alpha\sigma\epsilon\iota\ \epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \tau\eta\epsilon\ \pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\iota\alpha\ \tau\eta\varsigma\ \text{Καδυίας}$. Aesch. *F. L.* § 705.

without their concurrence; and that it would inevitably break down what it had been their policy to set up—a power in Peloponnesian capable of counteracting the claims of Sparta. A fresh invasion was therefore decided upon:

Plutarch and in the spring of B.C. 362 Epaminondas *Plutarch* marched to Tegea, and was there joined by his *Plutarch* Peloponnesian allies. The Spartans under

Agésilas were stationed at Mantinea, which, further north on the road from Sparta than Tegea, had to be reached by them along a circuitous route. After an unsuccessful attempt at surprising Sparta itself, Epaminondas was obliged to give battle at Mantinea, which lay between him and home. Immediately after his return from the unsuccessful attempt on Sparta he sent his cavalry on to surprise Mantinea. This he would have effected, if it had not been for the opportune appearance of the Athenians, who had marched through the Isthmus, and appeared on the brow of the hill just as the Theban cavalry came in sight¹. The next day the battle was fought, in which Epaminondas fell. Though the victory was with the Thebans, the death of that great man nullified its effects, and a peace was made which practically ended the Theban supremacy. Aeschines (act. 27) fought at Mantinea, as he affirms, with honour and in a manner worthy the city; yet, according to Diodorus, the Athenian cavalry, though behaving well, were as a matter of fact beaten and forced from their ground, until supported by the Eleian cavalry².

The three years which follow (B.C. 362—359) are a blank as far as our knowledge of the life of Aeschines goes. The Athenians were busied in Thrace with Cersobleptes³, the successor of Cotys, but there is no indication

¹ Polyb. 9. 8.

² Diodor. xv. 86.

³ Orator x. p. 130-131.

of Aeschines being in service there. In B.C. 359 the crown of Macedonia was obtained by Philip II., *Philip II. became King of Macedonia* an event which was to have so decisive an influence on all Greek politics, and was so *between the summer of 359 and 358* largely to affect among others the career of our *Order*.

In B.C. 358 however the arms of Athens found employment nearer home. After the battle of Leuctra (B.C. 371) the Theban supremacy had been exercised in Euboea to the detriment of the Athenian interests, in whose League of 378 B.C. most of the Euboean towns had shared. The seizure also of Oropus by exiles in B.C. 366, already mentioned, had been effected at the instigation of Themison of Eretria¹, and was a mark of the animus of the anti-Athenian and philo-Theban party. But, as usual in Greek states, the opposition to the dominant party grew in intensity with time, and when the prestige of Thebes sank gradually after the death of Epaminondas (362 B.C.), it soon became possible for Athens to once more assert her influence in the island.

In B.C. 358 the Thebans sent a force into Euboea to surprise the risible party of opposition to them. *Expedition into Euboea* Urgent messengers were sent to Athens for help; *B.C. 358* and with unusual promptitude a fleet and army was despatched within five days, apparently under the chief command of Timotheus, Diodes and Chares having also commands in the expedition, which in 30 days reduced the Theban army to retire under terms²; the Euboean towns being restored to independence. In this expedition Demosthenes served as a volunteer Trierarch, and Aeschines appears to have been in the army; but, as he merely states the fact without comment, we may suppose that he did not gain any special distinction.

¹ Aesch. in Ctes. § 85.

² Aesch. in Ctes. § 162.

The next nine years, though embracing events of momentous consequences to Greece, are again a blank in our knowledge of the life of Aeschines.

These include the most important working time of a man's life (from 30 to 40); and as neither Aeschines nor his father was rich, we must suppose that in them he gained by some reputable employment a sufficient competence, and conducted himself in such a way as to be marked out for state employment when occasion arose. He may have again been employed as a clerk, and so gained practical acquaintance with public business¹. Meanwhile Athens had been weakened by the loss of important members of the confederacy, as the result of the Sacred War (B.C. 338-335); but Philip had step by step been rising to be supreme in Greece. Though he did not retain his hold on

The ex-
ercising
policy of
Philip.

Amphipolis in 339 B.C., and was nominally at peace with Athens, his successes in Thracian and his diplomacy in the Chalcidic peninsula (B.C. 336), were gradually beginning to excite the attention and alarm of Athenian statesmen. But by the time this alarm was raised Philip had already to a great extent secured his position. The first note of warning is in the speech of Demosthenes on the *liberty of the Rhodians*², delivered in B.C. 332, or possibly in the

¹ There seem to have been two phases in his career as a clerk. Demosthenes speaks of it as *proctura* his employment on the stage; and this may be what Apollonius means by his *πρῶτος ἐπιγραμματοποιὸς τοῦ δόλου λόγου τὸν σὺν τῷ ἀδελφῷ Διοφάντῳ*. He is also mentioned as *ἐκτελεστὴς τῶν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ*. But the writer in Phocion (vol. II) speaks of a clerkship after the stage-work, and of a more domestic kind. *Ἐκτελεστὴς ἐργασιῶν τῇ βουλῇ*. So the author of the anonymous life may mean this, *ὅτι αὐτὸν ἀπέπεμψε γραμματεῖον Ἀστυνομήναι καὶ μετὰ τούτῳ Πάριον, καὶ ἀναγκαστοῦσα φερόμενος καὶ καὶ νόμων ἐπιτελεῖν καὶ αὐτὸν ἐπιδόσαντι τῷ δήμῳ*.

² § 24.

following year, and by that time Philip had already secured valuable possessions in Thrace, had interfered with effect to create a strong anti-Attic confederation in the Chalcidic peninsula, had secured Pydna (358), Methone (353), Pagasae (353),—thus commanding the Macedonian and Thessalian coasts; had seized on the opportunity offered by the distracted state of central Greece, caused by the Sacred War,—which as much as the Peloponnesian war seems to merit the description given of the latter as ‘the suicide of Hellas,’—to interfere in Thessaly, and even to attempt to pass Thermopylae and enter Phocis (B.C. 352); and was on the eve of that attempt to complete his line of coast by securing the Chalcidic Peninsula, which called forth the Olynthiac Orations of Demosthenes (B.C. 349).

It was in these circumstances that the Athenians undertook a second interference in Euboea, by sending an expedition thither under the command of Phocion, in which Aeschines shared, and in which he gained a substantial increase of reputation. It was caused by the request of Plutarchus, now despot of Eretria, who professed to be acting in the Athenian interests against intrigues promoted by Philip. Demosthenes appears to have suspected the honesty of Plutarchus and accordingly opposed the sending of the expedition¹. But it was supported by the party of Eubulus, and was despatched in February. Phocion found nothing but treachery in Euboea, and he and his army appear to have been in extreme peril, and to have been drawn into a dangerous position near Tanynae², a town of uncertain site some few miles South of Eretria. There the enemy's army under Callias of Chalcis, assisted by a small force sent by Philip, attacked, and by the rashness or treason of

¹ Dem. in *M.A.* § 110, *de Pace* § 4, *πρῶτος καὶ μέγας παρῆλθεν ἀντίπρῳ καὶ μόνῳ αὐτῷ διασώσθην ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπὶ μικροῖς λήμασι πᾶσι καὶ μεγάλοις ἀναστάνειν πτωχόντων*.

² Aesch. in *Ctes.* § 87.

Plutarchus nearly inflicted a defeat on Phocion's army. The day was saved however by the picked Athenian troops (*οἱ ἐπιλεκταί*), and among them Aeschines (act. 39) so distinguished himself, as to be selected to take the news of the victory home to Athens, where he received the reward of a crown¹.

He now had acquired sufficient reputation to be intrusted with serious public duties; and now first seems to have come forward definitely as an active politician. While the expedition in Euboea was taking place Philip had been actively engaged in Chalcidice; he first took a town there in B.C. 349, and early in B.C. 348 had taken Olynthus. Demosthenes in vain urging his countrymen to send relief; and finally destroyed the Chalcidic towns, selling 10,000 of the inhabitants into slavery. Though so supine in supporting the Chalcidians, the Athenians did take some steps to secure a league in the South, to resist Philip if he followed up his successes in the North by attempting interference in Peloponnesus. Aeschines (act. 40—1) seems to have been prominent at this time in denouncing the intrigues of Philip, especially in Arcadia²; and accordingly was despatched with others on a mission thither. He pleaded for a combination against Philip before the 'ten-thousand' at Megalopolis³, where he was answered by Hieronymus speaking in the interests of Philip. He gave a flourishing account of his arguments on his return; and moved great indignation by the description of a pitious spectacle which he had witnessed on his way

¹ Plutarch, *Phocion*, xii. xiii. Aesch. *F. L.* 169. Grote, xi. 144. Thirlwall, v. 282.

² Dem. *F. L.* § 19. ἔστι τῶνδε αὐτῶν ὁ πρῶτος Ἀθηναῖος ἀπὸ αὐτοῦ φιλεῖται, ὡς τὴν ἀναγγέλλειν ἔδει. ἡρωικώτατα τοῖς Ἑλλήσι καὶ βαρύνοντάς τε καὶ τῶν ἐν Ἀρκადίᾳ προσηγοριῶν.

³ Aesch. *F. L.* § 157 ὁ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς Ἀρκαδίας εὐνοῖται. Dem. l.

back. He saw one Atrestidas travelling with a company of Olynthian captives, about 30 women and boys, brought from the Macedonian court; and he denounced Philip's cruelty in the bitterest terms¹. He acknowledges himself that he did all he could to incite the Arcadians to join the Athenians in a war against Philip², and he justifies his subsequent change of policy by alleging that he found the utmost diversity of sentiment and action in Peloponnesus; and that while none were willing really to help Athens, some were actually ready to join in the attack upon her, and many were looking upon the war as a means of enriching themselves. In these circumstances he advised the people to make the peace.

Convinced therefore that a peace with Philip was necessary he consented to serve among the ten ambassadors who in November, B.C. 347, were elected on the motion of Philocrates to treat with him. Informal negotiations had already taken place; and various reports of Philip's pacific inclinations had reached Athens. But besides this there was grave reason to fear that he would soon be much nearer than ever to the Attic frontier. The Thebans in B.C. 347 had invoked his aid against the Phocians, to put an end to the Sacred War; and a Macedonian army was already besieging Hydus in Thessaly; and the Phocians in alarm sent to the Athenians begging them to occupy the pass of Thermopylae. But Phalaecus, the chief man in Phocis, did not join in this wish; and refused to allow the Athenian general Proxenus to take possession of the pass³. Thus

¹ Demosth. *F. L.* § 348. Aesch. *F. L.* § 72. Thirlwall, v. 326; Grote, xi. 171.

² *F. L.* § 79. The Pseudo-Plutarch seems to attribute to Aeschines' conduct of this negotiation the beginning of his public reputation.

³ Aesch. *F. L.* 123. Aeschines would not be serving with Proxenus, as it was only *οἱ μετὰ τὸν αὐτὸν ἔργη* who were ordered

both parties were inclined to make terms,—the Athenians because they dreaded that by the weakness or treachery of Phalaecus Philip would become master of Phocis, and Philip because his chief object was to secure a hold on Thermopylae, with the ulterior purpose of making himself master of Phocis; and, in order to do so, wished to have the opposition of Athens out of the way. These events happened at the end of B.C. 347. By February in the next year the ten Athenian ambassadors were ready to start to visit Philip¹. Their names were Ctesiphon, Aristodemus, Phrynon, Iatrocles, Philocretes, Demosthenes, Aeschines, Nausicles, Derogilus and Cinon, along with Aglaocreon of Tenedos, to represent the allies whose syndri met at Athens in virtue of the league of 378.

The purpose of this embassy—which was to be the turning point in the career of Aeschines and in his relations with Demosthenes—was not to make the peace, but to ascertain from Philip on what terms the peace could be made. The points on which anxiety was felt may be summed up in the two words—Thrace and Phocis. In regard to the first the Athenians had two objects, (1) to secure that Philip should not attempt to oust them from the Chersonese, and (2) that as regards the rest of Thrace he should not entirely destroy the position of their ally Cersobleptes, and should restore to them the possession of Amphipolis. As to Phocis, the on this service. Phalaecus, instead of giving up the posts which secured the pass,—Alpheus, Thronium, and Nicaea,—even imprisoned the Phocian ambassadors who had been to Athens.

¹ Among the reasons inducing the Athenians to consent to this embassy was the fact that Philip had been behaving with great liberality in the matter of the release of various Athenian citizens who had fallen into his hands, especially in respect to those for whose release Aristodemus had been sent to negotiate.

question was whether they could make such a peace as could prevent Philip's passage of Thermopylae, and his interference—in accordance with the invitation of Thebes—in the Sacred War, to the destruction of their allies the Phocians. Of what actually occurred on it we have only the account given by Aeschines himself¹, in one of the most graphic narratives to be found in the remains of Attic Oratory. Demosthenes in his speech in the prosecution of Aeschines has little or nothing to say on it; for his charge against him does not relate to his conduct then, but to that of a subsequent period,—his report at Athens and his conduct on the second embassy. Besides, if the account of Aeschines is to be accepted, Demosthenes would have good reason for touching as lightly as possible on the details of the first embassy.

According to Aeschines, then, Demosthenes took pains on the way to Pella to cultivate intimacy with himself, and with Aglaocreon and Iatrocles, and to warn them against the dishonesty of Philocrates, though he had been actually nominated ambassador by him. He made himself also disagreeable and offensive in various ways during the journey, and spoke boastfully of the 'inexhaustible fountain of arguments' whereby he would confound Philip and close up his mouth 'with an unsoaked rush,' and would persuade him to restore Amphipolis. But when they were admitted to an audience with Philip these vainglorious boasts were falsified. The ambassadors had arranged that they would address Philip in order of age, and accordingly Demosthenes was to speak last. Aeschines, when his turn came, says that he addressed Philip in a speech of considerable length, in which he dwelt on the old friendship between his ancestors and Athens, and the support which he himself had received from her in the early days of his reign, and

Demosthenes and Aeschines on the first embassy together.

¹ *F. L.* § 22—B.

what an ill-return had been made to the city by his guardian Ptolemy in the matter of Amphipolis. On the subject of Amphipolis, he then tried to shew how it had been from time immemorial acknowledged as an Athenian possession, and had been formally allowed to be so by Philip's own father Amyntas.

'After this and some other speeches it came to the turn of Demosthenes to speak. Every one was on the alert expecting a superb display of oratory: for, as we heard afterwards, Philip himself as well as his courtiers had been informed of his extravagant professions. With an audience thus all expectation, up gets this creature, and, after a prelude obscurely expressed and dead with fear, before he had got far on with his subject, suddenly became silent, hesitated, and finally broke down altogether. Seeing his condition Philip intreated him not to be alarmed, and not to imagine that such a contretemps had the same effect as it would have in a theatre. 'Pray,' said he, 'take your time, recollect yourself at your ease, and deliver what you intended to say.' But having once got confused, and lost the thread of his notes, he could not recover himself; tried once more to resume his speech, and once more broke down. There was a general silence; and the herald bade us withdraw. But when we ambassadors were alone together, our admirable Demosthenes with a very gloomy expression of countenance said that I had ruined the city and the allies. When the other ambassadors no less than myself expressed astonishment at this, and demanded why he said so, he asked me whether I had forgotten the state of affairs at Athens, and that the people were in extreme distress and very anxious for the peace. 'Or do you?' said he, 'prune yourself on the fifty ships that have been voted but will never be manned? For you have irritated Philip; and the result of what you have said will not be that war gives place to peace, but peace to war, though not open war.'

Aeschines' reply was interrupted by a second summons to the presence of Philip, who, as he asserts, addressed his answer almost entirely to his speech, without making any reference to Demosthenes, at which the latter orator was deeply chagrined.

'But when we were on our way home from our mission all of a sudden he began much to our surprise to talk to each one of us with an air of affectionate politeness. I never knew before the meaning of the words 'monkey,' 'downy,' 'jack o' both sides.' Thanks to his instruction however there is no knavery that I do not understand now. Taking each of us separately aside in turn, he promised to get up a subscription for one, assistance in his private business to another, election as strategus to another: while as for me, he kept following me about with congratulations on my extraordinary ability, and praises of the speech I had delivered, until I was tired and bored with his compliments. And when we were all dining together at Larissa he kept jesting at himself and the fiasco he had made of his speech, declaring Philip to be the cleverest man under the sun; and when I capped this by some remark about his having shown a wonderfully good memory in his answer to our speeches; and when Ctesiphon, the eldest of us, said that old as he was and many as were the years he had lived, he had never seen anyone so agreeable and charming, our Sisyphus clapped his hands and remarked 'Neither you nor our friend here' (meaning me). Ctesiphon would venture to tell the Athenians that Philip was a clever speaker and had a good memory!—Being quite off our guard and having no suspicion of the trap he was setting for us, which I will explain to you presently, he induced us to enter into a kind of arrangement that we *should* tell you these impressions of ours; and in my case he added an earnest intreaty that I would not forget to say that Demosthenes had as well as myself put in a word about Amphipolis¹.

¹ F. L. § 42—43.

This is the way in which Aeschines accounts for the favourable terms in which he among others made his report of the interview with Philip: and he proceeds to describe his astuteness when Demosthenes got up, and, affirming that the only report needed was the latter from Philip which he had sent in answer to their mission, proceeded to contradict in detail the impressions of Philip's personal ability and charm which Cræsydion and Aeschines (according to agreement, as Aeschines says) had described. It is perhaps too much to believe that Aeschines was of such guileless simplicity as to be taken in entirely by such a device on the part of Demosthenes as he describes; and at any rate he condemns himself in owing to having given a report on any one's suggestion, rather than on his own genuine impression; and Crætes further condemns his conduct as an ambassador by remarking, that it does not speak well for his good sense if he made Amphipolis the main subject of his address to Philip. Amphipolis had been too long in Philip's hands, and it was too valuable to him as covering the rich goldfields of Pangæus, to allow of any chance of its restoration. The two points that were really of importance, and within the range of practical politics, were to keep Philip out of the Chersonese, and North of Thermopylae. The former might be effected by a peace arranged on the basis of a *status quo*, each party keeping the towns actually in their possession: the second could only be secured by including the Phocians in the number of the Athenian allies, who were not to be attacked hereafter. But to do this was for the Athenians to range themselves in opposition to Tholæ and all the members of the Amphictyonic League, who were prepared to use to the utmost the help of Philip for the punishment of these hated enemies. And though Philip wished to discern the enmity and opposition of Athens, he had no intention, as soon appeared, of covenanting himself out of the right of acting as champion of the Amphictyonic Council, and

putting an end to the Sacred War by crushing Phocis if necessary. The peace now recommended in consequence of the embassy of the ten really gave up this point: for Phocis was to be left out of the treaty: that is, Athens formally renounced any obligation to assist the Phocians, whatever measures the Amphictyonic Council, or Philip acting in its name, might choose to take against them. Even the security of the Chersonese was weakened; for though Philip was deterred by the treaty from attacking towns in it belonging to Athens, yet his hands were left free by the Thracian Cersobleptes, whose son was a hostage in Philip's hands, not being included in the Athenian alliance, but making terms separately. This in fact left Philip free to act in all parts of Thrace, except the Chersonese, wholly without reference to Athens.

The Peace, therefore, was not very glorious or satisfactory to the Athenians: and such no doubt the orators felt to be the case, though it was impossible to deny that, unless the people were willing to fling in their forces boldly with the Phocians, and risk all in an armed opposition to Tholæ and Philip, which their mistrust of the Phocian leader Phalaecus, if nothing else, prevented, some peace was necessary. It was in these circumstances that Demosthenes charges Aeschines with his first act of tergiversation. According to a decree proposed by Demosthenes himself there were to be two meetings of the Assembly: in the first the subject of the Peace was to be debated, in the second the votes were to be taken. In the first Demosthenes says that Aeschines vehemently opposed the peace proposed by Philocrates, saying that 'while a single Athenian remained alive he would never advise this peace, although a peace of some sort was necessary'; but that on the second day he took quite the opposite view, spoke vehemently on the other side, exhorted the Athenians not to be forever dwelling on the glories of their ancestors, nor

Discrepancy at the top of Aeschines' Charge against Aeschines at the Peace of 346.

to undertake the support of other Greeks who had never supported them¹. Aeschines replies that the charge of Demosthenes involves an impossibility, as, in accordance with his own decree, the second meeting was to be for voting and not for speaking². But, unfortunately for this apparently telling retort of Aeschines, he himself some years later complained that at the second day's meeting Demosthenes monopolised the bema, leaving no one else anything to say; and made a speech, questioned Antipater, and carried the decree of Philocrates³. If this latter statement is true, and Aeschines says that he remembered it distinctly owing to certain particularly disagreeable expressions of Demosthenes, it does a good deal to destroy his first defence grounded on the fact that there was no speaking on that day. Still a statement made 16 years afterwards is less trustworthy in itself than one made when the affair was recent; and it is evident that Aeschines was at this time no more uncertain in his view than were others. He did not like the peace, and yet he feared to reject it, and warned his countrymen against rashly undertaking distant expeditions, like the disastrous invasion of Sicily; and advised them, while they emulated the glories of their ancestors, to avoid their mistakes. The two views, whether put forward on the same or on two following days, are not inconsistent, and do not necessarily imply the corruption insinuated by Demosthenes. They seem rather to indicate the divided feelings which were shared by the people at large; who would fain have opposed Philip and humbled Thebes, but were uncertain of their ability to sustain such a contest, and beguiled themselves with hopeful theories as to Philip's real intentions. Demosthenes seems to have been conscious that at this stage of the proceedings there was little to say against Aeschines. His real denunciations are

¹ Dem. *F. L.* 17.

² Aeschines, *F. L.* §§ 63–5. Cp. 74–6.

³ Aesch. in *Ctes.* § 71.

reserved for the conduct of the Second Embassy, which was sent to receive the sworn ratification of Philip and his allies, when the people had decreed the Peace. He charges all the ambassadors alike with treasonable delay in not proceeding at once on their mission, and thus allowing Philip to possess himself of additional strongholds in Thrace before he took the oaths; but he charges Aeschines personally with deceiving the people by a report in which he assured them that he had persuaded Philip to assent to all that especially affected the interests of the city; that in a few days they would hear of Thebes being besieged and isolated from the rest of Boeotia; of the restoration of Thespieae and Plataea; of the wealth taken from Delphi being repaid by the Thebans; and finally that, in return for the surrender of Amphipolis to Philip, he would guarantee their hold over Euboea, and something else which they had still more at heart, — meaning by this hint Oropus¹. Aeschines makes but a poor answer to this charge. He tries to explain that all he said was that these things were the true interests of Athens; and that they were what he had striven for, though fortune and Philip were too strong for him: and he denies point blank, — with what truth it is impossible to say, — that he had had secret intercourse with Philip, and had acted in collusion with him in the composition of the letter which was sent back with the ambassadors and served to put the people off their guard².

The mutual recriminations of the orators³ will always

¹ Demosth. *F. L.* 22–25.

² Aeschines, *F. L.* 118–127.

³ There was an old tradition that the speeches on the embassy, though written, were never delivered. Pseud.-Plut. vii. x. Or. 342 *c* εἰσι δ' αὖ φασι συγγράφαι μὲν τοὺς ῥήτορας τοὺς λόγους, ἐκποδῶν δὲ γενομένων τῶν περὶ Σαυρώνειαν μηκέτι τὴν ἑκτὴν εἰσελθεῖν. The length of the speech of Demosthenes is certainly more fitted for a pamphlet.

Second Embassy to take the oaths 1.A. April–June, B.C. 346.

leave a residuum of doubt in the mind as to the true share of blame attaching to all sides alike who were engaged in the transaction: but there is no doubt that the practical result was that the Athenian people were lulled into a false security; that the Phocians found that they had no help to look for from Athens; and that Philip was able to secure Thermopylae on the surrender of the Phocian Phalaecus. On the embassy, sent to announce to Philip the Athenian abandonment of their support of the Phocians, Demosthenes refused to serve; and Aeschines was, or feigned to be,

too ill to go (Jung, *u.c.* 346). But the next month when Philip was already in Phocis, and *Aeschines visits Philip in Phocis, July, B.C. 346.* was proceeding to inflict upon the Phocian cities, in the name of the Amphictyons, the

penalty of their sacrifice, Aeschines recovered his health sufficiently to visit him, apparently on the strength of his original appointment as ambassador: though Demosthenes affirms that he did so without authority or commission from the people; and that then he joined in the celebration of the Pythian games under the presidency of Philip, in which the Athenians had expressly refused to take part¹. Aeschines on the other hand affirms that he exerted himself successfully to save the lives of the Phocians, whom Philip was urged by others to execute, and that the exiled Boeotians and Phocians testified to the services which he had rendered to them in this hour of supreme

danger². There is no good reason to doubt this last assertion: but it does not acquit Aeschines of the main charge, that he had been won over by Philip; and, at any rate, by certain suppressions and plausible representations to the people, had played into his hands. The only defence that can be urged for him, and which, it may be, secured his acquittal by a

¹ Demosth. *P. L.* § 138—141.

² Aesch. *P. L.* § 112. See Grote, *ii.* 223. Thirlwall, *vi.* 2.

narrow majority³, is that he yielded to what he thought a necessity; that he had come to regard the supremacy of Philip as inevitable, and to believe that properly manipulated it might be made to yield certain advantages to distracted Hellas. Such a view we know to have been held by the venerable and respected rhetorician Isocrates, who about this time composed the address to Philip⁴, still extant, in which he urged him to look upon himself as the champion of Greece, and to turn his arms with the whole authority of Greece at his back upon the common enemy, the king of Persia, whose power, at that time threatened by revolts in Egypt, Phoenicia and Cyprus, had recovered something of its old force, and was still holding in subjection the fair lands of the Asiatic Hellenes. Such an opportunist policy may not have been great or noble, but it was one which a practical statesman may have thought the only possible one in the circumstances: still it does not really justify tortuous intrigues and disingenuous suppressions.

Whatever may be the true account of his motives, from this time forward Aeschines is to be regarded as a persistent partisan of the Macedonian government: and, if we are to believe Demosthenes, he was throughout this period regarded by the better part of the citizens as a traitor, a feeling which found expression in the action of the Areopagus in quashing his election as a syndic to advocate the Athenian claim to the management of Delos, tried before the Amphictyonic Council in B.C. 345⁵. But in the next five years there seems to have been little in the actual things done by Aeschines

¹ A majority of 30. He was supported by Eubulus as a *corruptor*. Pseudo-Plut. *vit. x. Or.* 342 c. Cp. Photius Cod. *cl. are δὲ Εὐβούλου τὸν ἀναγωγὸν, ὃ ὑπερέστη. ἀναγωγιστὰς αὐτοῦ αἶψα.*

² Isocrates, *Orat. v.*

³ Demosth. *de Cor.* §§ 134—135.

Macedonian government and policy of Aeschines from B.C. 346—340.

that Demosthenes was able to lay hold upon. He had anticipated the prosecution, threatened against him for his conduct on the embassy, by securing the ruin, and apparently the suicide, of one of those who menaced it. In his speech *against Timarchus* (B.C. 345) he had taken occasion also, as far as possible, to prejudice his hearers against the private character of Demosthenes, and to prepare them to reject the accusation which he was about to bring against himself when he stood his audit (*εἰθενα*) for his embassy; but of overt acts in this period Demosthenes can find nothing to attack except an instance of opposition to the patriotic side, and of support of Philip, in the case of the mission from Byzantium of the orator Python (probably in B.C. 341)¹; and again his intercourse with Anaximenes, supposed to be a spy of Philip's, but whom Aeschines asserts to have been in Greece only for the peaceful purpose of making purchases for Philip's wife Olympias². He indeed says that he has endless other notes to bring forward [*ἔτι πολλὰ τοιούτων ἔτι εἰπεῖν ἔχωμαι*] but that is only an oratorical *conceit*, which may be taken to mean generally that there is nothing else which will much bear discussion.

About Midsummer B.C. 341 the peace of B.C. 346, which had covered a period in which by one action after another Philip had roused the suspicions and distrust of the Athenians, was finally brought to an end by an open declaration of war, induced by his siege of Perinthus, by his entering the Chersonese, and the capture of Athenian merchantmen by his cruisers³. The Athenians perhaps expected or hoped that the war would be fought at a distance from their territory; but the outbreak of another Sacred War soon brought Philip southward again; and this Sacred War

¹ Dem. *de Cor.* § 136.

² Dem. *de Cor.* § 137. Aesch. *in Ctes.* 122. [Plutarch] vit. x. Or. 848.

³ Dem. *de Cor.* § 73. Grote, xi. 269 sqq.

Demosthenes charges Aeschines with having deliberately helped to bring about, with the express purpose of giving Philip an excuse for interference¹. Aeschines on the other hand maintains that he acted on this occasion from pure zeal for the honour of the god and the sanctity of the Delphic territory, as well as from a proper feeling of indignation at the injury done to the honour of Athens; and that the act of impiety on the part of the Amphissians had been passed over by others, and among them by Demosthenes, for the sake of bribes received from Amphissa. In February B.C. 339 Aeschines was one of the Pylagorae at the spring meeting of the Amphictyonic Council at Delphi². There he was told that the Amphissian delegates, in order to please the Thebans, were about to propose the levying of a fine upon the Athenians on the ground of their having after Plataea (479 B.C.) set up certain gilt shields in the New Temple before it was dedicated³, or, as Grote thinks, for having caused the inscription "dedicated by the Athenians, out of the spoils of Persians and Thebans engaged in joint battle against the Greeks"—to be regilded, and put up again in a new cell or chapel without the necessary ceremonies,—the insult to the Thebans being thus rendered again conspicuous. This animus on the part of the Amphissians was soon betrayed by a speech of one of their number denouncing the Athenians for having espoused the cause of the sacrilegious Phocians, and recommending that their delegates should be expelled as under a curse (*ἐραγείας*). Aeschines retaliated in a long speech in which he denounced the Amphissians for having cultivated the sacred Cirrhaean plain, which had been declared dedicate to the

¹ Demosth. *de Cor.* §§ 143—151 οὐτός ἐστιν ὁ συγκατα-
σχέμενος καὶ πείσων δις ἀπὸ τῶν ἀγιστῶν αἰτίος κακῶν.

² Aeschin. *in Ctes.* §§ 106—129.

³ For the nature of the act here described, see notes to § 116, and Grote, xi. 273.

god, and ordered to be left fallow ever since the 1st Sacred War in the 6th century. The Amphictyons proclaimed a crusade, and were resisted in arms by the Amphissians. A fresh council was summoned, to which on the advice of Demosthenes the Athenians refused to send delegates, and in the spring of B.C. 338 Philip was invited by the Amphictyonic Council to come forward as their champion. With whatever motive therefore Aeschines had acted, the result of his policy had undoubtedly been to bring Philip once more South of Thermopylae. For Philip promptly avoided himself of the invitation of the Amphictyons: one evening in the spring of B.C. 338 the Athenians were startled by the news that he had seized and was fortifying Elateia, which commanded the passes over Mount Oeta.¹ The news caused the most painful excitement at Athens. Philip was again close upon the Attic frontier; and there was no doubt that, if he were not stopped, before many weeks were passed he would be dictating terms in the city. For the moment his partisans were overjoyed, and amidst the gloomy or perhaps treasonable silence of the usual speakers Demosthenes came forward with energetic proposals for warlike preparations: urging that an alliance should be made with Thebes, and that the fortifications of Athens should be restored. Demosthenes asserts that in these circumstances Aeschines did not say a word, either by way of attacking his decree, or by way of warning to the people of the danger into which they were running.² Against this charge Aeschines has naturally little to say, except to point to the disastrous result of the policy of Demosthenes as consummated by the battle of Chaeroneia (Aug. B.C. 338), and the death of so many citizens in that struggle.

¹ Dem. de Cor. §§ 169-170.

² Dem. de Cor. §§ 170-191.

³ Aesch. in Ctes. §§ 137-147.

But though the effect of Chaeroneia was to confirm the supremacy of Philip it does not seem to have enhanced the influence of Aeschines: he was ^{Aeschines} ^{after the} ^{battle of} ^{Chaeroneia} indeed put forward as the mouthpiece of a party to attack Demosthenes by prosecuting Ctesiphon for bribery in proposing to crown Demosthenes for his services (B.C. 337); yet in the seven years which elapsed between the notice given of this impeachment and the actual trial of the case (B.C. 337-330), there is no evidence of Aeschines taking a leading part in Athenian politics. Demosthenes affirms that he was in the pay of Alexander after Philip's death (B.C. 324), as he had been in that of Philip.¹ But whether that was so or not, when Alexander advanced into Greece in the autumn of 336, and obtaining the submission of the cities, was nominated as his father had been two years before, commander-in-chief of all Greece for the meditated invasion of Persia, no speech or motion of Aeschines is recorded. He of course did not share in the intrigue with Demos, in which Demosthenes was deeply engaged. Demos sent 300 talents as a bribe to the people, to enable them to form a coalition in Greece against Alexander, and so prevent the contemplated expedition into Persia. This money was refused by the state, but Aeschines affirms that Demosthenes received 70 talents, which he appropriated, and refused to refund or to use for public purposes.² The Persian alliance was now the one hope of the anti-Macedonian party; and we must imagine Aeschines watching with alternate hope and fear for news of the victorious progress of Alexander from the moment of his crossing the Hellespont (B.C. 334) to his final triumph over Darius (B.C. 330), which made him lord of all Asia.³ But

¹ Dem. de Cor. § 207.

² *ἡ δὲ δόξα ἦν* Aesch. in Ctes. §§ 173, 209, 230.

³ The destruction of Thebes (B.C. 335), though acquiesced in by the Macedonian party as a stern necessity, must have

it was the final defeat of the anti-Macedonian movement in the Peloponnese under Agis of Sparta by Alexander's lieutenant Antipater (B.C. 331), that seems to have encouraged the enemies of Demosthenes to bring into Court the prosecution of Ctesiphon which had been in abeyance since B.C. 337-6. Alexander had indeed won most of his great victories, Granicus (334 B.C.), Issus (B.C. 333), Tyre (B.C. 332), Arbela (331 B.C.); but the final defeat and death of Darius was not yet known at Athens when the speeches were delivered¹. The Conqueror was still far out of sight, and there were still all the chances of a long and distant campaign in favour of a collapse of his mighty power as sudden as had been its rise. Therefore the voice of orators had still some significance, and Greece at large was able still to take an interest in a controversy, which would have little meaning except in a free state and before a sovereign people.

In these circumstances this great trial at length commenced. It drew an immense concourse from all parts of Greece. For "this was to be something more than a dazzling display or an 'exchange of personalities.' It was to be a 'public verdict, after full hearing, on an issue which 'came home, for good or evil, to every Greek city, to 'every hearth, almost to every conscience; and for this 'verdict all Greece was in suspense!'" The speech delivered by Aeschines in these circumstances was in some respects worthy of the occasion; but the faults and weaknesses with which it was defaced were brought into practically weakened their moral influence in the several states; and was such a shock to Hellenic feeling, that we can see, I think, that Aeschines is exceedingly careful in alluding to it to do so in sympathetic and moderate terms: see in *Ctes.* § 133.

¹ Aesch. in *Ctes.* § 132.

² Prof. R. C. Jebb. *The Attic Orators*, vol. II. p. 490.

minence by the consummate skill and power of the answer which it provoked. Where it was strong, that is on the two legal points, it did not appeal to any deep feeling on the part of the audience; and when it came to the subject which deeply moved the hearers, the question of the right or wrong of the Demosthenic policy, it laboured under two fatal disadvantages,—it dealt almost entirely in assertion, and malignant interpretation unsupported by proofs; and secondly the speaker had not the courage, in view of the popular feeling, boldly to set forth a policy counter to that of Demosthenes. It was easy to point out the fatal results of the Demosthenic measures. Athens had failed and suffered; Philip had prevailed, and Alexander was master of the situation; but the hearts of the audience were with the orator who still maintained that, while all was lost, their honour was safe. Nor does Aeschines ever venture distinctly to trace out the policy which he or his party would have preferred to pursue. Perhaps he had no distinct idea of what that policy should be. It could only have been one of temporary expedients and careful compliance; of taking shelter while the Macedonian storm lasted, and waiting till better times should come. Such a policy admits of no definite scheme; it depends on the necessities of the hour; and can only be judged by the ultimate result. Therefore while Demosthenes is attacked and defended on a multitude of definite points in an active policy, as well as with the failure of its sum total, it is generally abstention in the time of need, rather than overt acts, which is laid to the charge of Aeschines.

As to the speech itself its construction is loose and irregular, and does not contain any narrative passages as lively as some in the same Orator's speech on the *Falsa Legatio*. The lengthy and somewhat conventional *prooemium* was criticised adversely by the ancients: there is no regular statement of the subject of the indictment (*πρόθεσις*): such as there is gives only an imperfect enumera-

tion of the points. This is partly explained, if the theory of Blass and others be right that we have here the draft of the speech as drawn in 336, amended by fresh suggestions in 330, and still further amended after the trial had actually taken place, and before publication. But also the regular divisions of a speech are not well observed. The main body of it, the *narratio et demonstratio*, extends from § 13 to 176; and all the rest is, as Blass says, 'Epilogue in the widest sense of the term'; yet from § 176 to 230 there are matters which more properly belong to the previous division, and technically the Epilogue does not begin until § 230. Finally, the peroration is unduly long, and weakened and spoilt by the final section. The following is an outline of the argument and arrangement of the speech.

1-8 Prooemium.

The elaborate preparations and display of partisan feeling on the side of the defendant is only another illustration of the vital importance to a democracy of a strict enforcement of the laws, and especially of the law concerning the *γερουσία* *παρόλας*.

9-167 Narratio et demonstratio.

9-12. The law prohibiting the crowning of any one still *ἐν τῷ δήμῳ* is necessary to prevent the absurdity of a man being crowned by the people and soon afterwards being convicted of embezzlement¹.

13-15. The Law forbids the crowning of officers before they have passed their *εἰσέταξις*: and Demosthenes as *εὐεργέτης* had an office (in *ἀρχή*, not a *μάχη* *ἐκὸς* *ἡμέρας* or *ἡμέρας*) within the meaning of the law. [16] The law themselves is plainly against him.

17-23. Demosthenes' plea of having been crowned for a

¹ Blass, III. 2. p. 1-4. says that here we are to have followed in 330 a reference to the fact that Demosthenes was *ἐπικρατής* at the time of Ctesiphon's proposal. Instead of which we have an answer to a second objection, that, namely, founded

benefaction, not for his conduct in his office, will not hold good.

24-27. Demosthenes was doubly *ἐπικρατής*, (1) as *τειχοποιός*, and (2) as *ὁ ἐπὶ τῷ δήμῳ* *ῥήτορ*².

28-31. Nor is it a valid answer to say that as *τειχοποιός* he was elected by his tribe and not by the demos: the law embraces that case also.

32-48. Ctesiphon has infringed another law,—that namely which forbids the proclamation of a crown in the theatre³. They will plead in answer that there are two laws, the latter of which authorises this proceeding. It is impossible that two contradictory laws should exist together. I will show you that the latter does not apply to this case⁴.

49-50. The third infringement of the law on Ctesiphon's part is the proposal to crown Demosthenes on the ground of his valuable public services. This is illegal because the law

on the dismission of *ἀρχὴ* and *ἐπιμέλεια*. He therefore supposes that an answer to a first objection originally stood here and was cut out. But what then do the words—*πρὶν λόγον, πρὶν εἰσέταξις ἔσθαι, γέγραπται μετὰ τὸ Δημοσθένος ἀρχόντα στεφάνου*—mean?

¹ This point is only mentioned here and in Dem. *de Cor.* II. 113, 115. The reference to it here seems, as Blass says, an afterthought suggested by the necessity of showing that Demosthenes had an undoubted office (*ἀρχή*), the other being only to be denominated an *ἀρχή* by straining the sense.

² This too Blass thinks to have been inserted in the 2nd edition of the speech delivered in 330, as distinct from that originally composed in 336, on the ground that it is not mentioned in the earlier part of the speech. It seems to me not easy to decide whether this really points to two drafts of the speech, or merely to his less careful or less skilful preparation. Aeschines himself professes to speak more or less impromptu in comparison with the elaborate and professional preparation of Demosthenes, see above p. ix. n. 2.

³ For a discussion and fuller statement of Aeschines' argument on this head see App. A.

forbids entering falsehoods on the public records. I must therefore show that in public and private life alike Demosthenes is unworthy.

51-53. The scandals of Demosthenes' private life are numerous, and so generally known that what I have to fear is not disbelief, but staleness.

54-167. The public career of Demosthenes. I will consider this in four periods, §§ 54-6; I. (B.C. 357-346) from the first remonstrances to Philip in the matter of Amphipolis to the peace of Philocrates, §§ 57-78. II. (B.C. 346-340) from the peace of Philocrates to the outbreak of the Amphissan war, §§ 79-105. III. (B.C. 340-338) from the beginning of the Amphissan war to the battle of Chaeroneia, §§ 106-158. IV. (B.C. 338-336) from the battle of Chaeroneia to the time of speaking, §§ 159-167.

¹ With regard to the first division he accuses Demosthenes of having, in conjunction with Philocrates and those bribed by Philip, injured the state in a threefold manner at the conclusion of the peace, besides having grossly flattered the Macedonian ambassadors. In passing to the second subdivision, he first of all explains why D. had become the enemy of Philip after the peace; and accuses him of having brought about the new war. When D. appeals to the union effected by him with Euboea and Thebes, to the "walls of iron and steel" with which he had fortified the country, Aeschines retorts, in regard to Euboea, with a far-fetched and broad statement, according to which D. was merely the paid accomplice of his friend Callias of Chalcis, and had basely sacrificed the interests of Athens. Evidently the suspicion of Callias and his brother, for whom Demosthenes at that time was trying to obtain citizenship, is here a secondary view. Unfortunately we do not know from any other source when this happened (Hyper. *Dem. Cor.* xvii., *Dein.* i. § 44). But it is striking that not only at the beginning of the section (§ 84) do the "iron walls" refer to an expression in the *de Corona* (§ 200), but also soon afterwards another part of the same speech is quite unmistakably imitated (§ 85, *de Cor.*

168-170. The character of a truly popular statesman (*δημοφιλής*).

171-176. How Demosthenes falls short of this.

§ 100], a peculiarity which is repeated in regard to the other point mentioned in the same clause, the alliance with the Thebans. We may add that, judging from the Demosthenic reply, Aeschines threw suspicion on the Euboeans and Byzantines, and the alliance with them, of which in the speech as it exists we do not find a word (*Dem. de Cor.* §§ 95, 238, 246). It would therefore appear that in re-editing the speech he must have partly altered, partly excised, a good deal in these sections, probably the latter (as Schäfer suggests) in consideration of the feelings of the Hellenic states, amongst whom he was then living. In the third subdivision the first accusation is far inquiry toward the Delphic temple. He dilates on the old war against Corinth, the consecration of its territory, and the sin of the Amphissians in cultivating it, who indeed begged D. to keep silence about it. He gives full particulars of his own appearance at Delphi, and of how D. kept the Athenians from the holy war against Amphissa; then he dilates further on the godlessness of D., and the almost supernatural workings of fate which had now reversed the balance of power; had so highly exalted the Macedonians, the liberators of the Delphic temple; and on the other hand had so abused Athens; and that too since D., the hated of the gods, had been at the head of affairs. This paragraph cannot have been written earlier than 330. What follows, that the Theban alliance owed its existence to the circumstances of the times, and not, as D. boasts, to his eloquence, may be of still later date: as not only is reference made to assertions of D. (§ 137) but there is also a certain contact with another passage in the *de Corona* (§ 120, Aesch. § 138). Then he reproaches D. with having injured Athens in the formation of the alliance, with having conducted the war arbitrarily and perversely, and with having prevented the peace offered by Philip. Then he comes to the battle, and tries to show how unseemly and unreasonable in every way it would be to crown a man who was the originator of such misfortunes. *Class.*

177—260 Epilogue.

177—189. Comparison of the rewards given to famous men of old with that now proposed for Demosthenes¹.

190—200. The strictness of the proceedings on *prophetia* compared with their laxity now.

201—212. This strictness the jurors should maintain now by refusing to hear anything but arguments on the legal issues, and therefore should not allow Demosthenes to be called as a *zeugnomos* or, if they do allow it, should insist on its occupying the speech in the same order and spirit as that in which it was delivered; and should disregard all the side issues he may raise, all his antithetical tricks and rhetorical commonplaces.

213—214. Ctesiphon and Demosthenes are mutually distrustful of each other. Each declares that the danger lies in the other's bad character.

215—226. A defence of the speaker's own conduct against the anonymous attacks of Demosthenes². His abstention from continued interference in public business is the result of his moderation. That he follows the moderation of phlegmatic Alexander is disproved by the fact that none of it was given before Philip's death. If he was like a physician making fault after the patient's death, Demosthenes was an orator who failed his country in the hour of danger.

227—243. Recapitulation (the Epilogue proper). Why then reject him? Not from the beauty of the decree, nor for the good character of Ctesiphon, nor for the merits of

¹ The illustration as to the persons Phalaris and Croesus is evidently introduced into the text. See *Dean de Cor.* 319.

² All this is in part, if not throughout, identical with the *de Corona*; but passage clearly belongs to the subsequent revision of 225. The two most curious things are the statement that D. intended to emend the eloquence of Aeschines to the song of the Sirens; for this does not occur in the *de Corona*, though it appears to have been really said, and only not inserted in the published speech; while Aeschines introduced it from what he had heard. (Iliad.)

Demosthenes. By voting him a crown you will transfer the shame of Demosthenes to the city.

244—255. It is necessary to the safety of the democracy to keep statesmen subordinate to the law, lest they develop into national dangers.

256—260. Setting aside the question of legality, how has Demosthenes deserved the crown? His services as to the *Pericleia* were stained with sacrilege; and the Theban alliance was the result of circumstances, not of his diplomacy.

261—2. As to calling Demosthenes,—want more nauseous than to hear him sing his own praises? You had better condemn your own defence, Ctesiphon. You cannot plead inexperience; for you have lately undertaken a foreign mission.

3—6. No special outcry is needed to bring out the merits of a really deserving man, such as Chabrias, Iphicrates, or Timoleon. Demosthenes, so far from a crown, deserves to be driven over the frontier like the lifeless objects which have been used in murder.

7—24. Final appeal to the jurors. All eyes are upon you. The character of the state depends on that of the man whom she delights to honour. The way to avoid granting honours which dishonour the state is to demand proofs of the recipient's worthiness. If you don't do so, you will have individuals becoming over-powerful, the state weak.

25—254. Much less serious acts of treason than those involved in the cowardice and mischievous policy of Demosthenes have brought their authors into trouble.

255—260. Final peroration. It is your country that will be affected by your vote. Do not let private feelings sway you: contrast with his empty boasts the glorious services of the heroes of old; and show yourselves true sons of those men who punished with death the man who brought Persian gold into the country, though not for himself. I have spoken my utmost. It rests with you to vote for the right.

Such was the speech, which in this final controversy of free Athens, in spite of the influence of the Macedonian monarchy, and in spite of the splendid and winning voice

of the speaker, failed to convince an Athenian court. Aeschines did not obtain the necessary fifth part of the votes, and consequently incurred the penalty of 1000 drachmae. It cannot be supposed that he or his friends were unable to pay this sum (about £40); or that he would have refused to do so from mere contumacy. He had lost the power of ever bringing such an action again, and he must have felt that it was the end of his career as an Athenian citizen; and that it was better to live elsewhere. If he could not persuade his fellow-citizens that he was right, when Alexander was in the full tide of his success, what would be his case if news reached Greece that Alexander were defeated or dead? He therefore determined, forfeiting his citizenship by non-payment, to put himself immediately under the protection of Alexander. He retired to Ephesus, from which town the road through Sardis to central Asia began, and waited for the return of the king. He was therefore not at Athens to witness his rival's disgrace and recall (n.c. 325-4). But we have no particulars of his life at Ephesus, either as to what he did, or on what he lived, whether by teaching as afterwards at Rhodes, or on the bounty of the Macedonian king. We are only told that in the confusion which followed the death of Alexander he retired to Rhodes and there 'set up a school and taught,' not apparently a school of rhetoric, for he told the Rhodians that he did not know the art of rhetoric, but a more elementary school¹. Presently, for

¹ Plutarch, Dem. c. 24, says that he lived *πάλαι καὶ ἰσχυρὰ διδάσκων*. He therefore probably gave paid lectures of some sort. The assertion of the Pseudo-Plutarch, Vit. x Or. 343 b that he was the founder of the Rhodian school of oratory—*τὴν Ρωδιακὴν ἀσχολασίαν ἀνέθηκε*—is a manifest anachronism. The so-called Rhodian School does not seem to have been famous until about about n.c. 100, and at any rate it was the growth of the political importance of Rhodes, which did not begin until the time of the successors of Alexander.

reasons of which we again know nothing, he left Rhodes for Samos, where he died in his 75th year (about B.C. 314), nearly eight years after the death of Demosthenes¹. The only anecdote of this portion of his life which we have is that narrated in the biography of the Pseudo-Plutarch. 'He read,' we are told, 'to the Rhodians his speech against Ctesiphon; and when all his hearers expressed their astonishment that he should have been defeated after such a speech, he said: "You would not be surprised if you had heard the reply of Demosthenes."'² The last hope, perhaps the last wish, of a return to Athens ended with the death of Alexander. Even if he had been by nature inclined to take an active part in politics, which seems not to have been the case, there was little in the state of things at Athens to tempt him to desire to return; and he was probably more content to follow his peaceful occupation in places where the 'Macedonian question' was no longer a cause of vehement debate or social division. Three orations of his have come down to us, the genuineness of which has not, as far as I know, been impugned. They all bear the stamp of the same mind, and have similar merits and defects. Of these the speech on the embassy is the most graphic and lively. The subject of that against Timarchus renders it revolting to modern readers; but it contains a good deal that is of interest, and is expressed in clear and direct language. That against Ctesiphon is the most laboured, but not to my mind as effective as the *de Falsa Legatione*. A fourth oration, *λόγος Δηλιακός*, was anciently in existence, attributed to Aeschines, but was early declared spurious.

Aeschines was married to a daughter of Philodemus, son of Philon, and had two sons and one daughter. But of his domestic life we know absolutely nothing.

¹ According to one story he was put to death by Antipater, who however died three or perhaps six years before him (B.C. 320 or 317) according to the received chronology.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE LIFE OF AESCHINES.

97	369	Aeschines born, son of Atrometus [<i>Trag.</i> <i>Ion.</i> <i>de Gorg.</i> § 129] and Glimacius (or Glauco or Eumacius) [<i>de P. L.</i> § 141-2].
98	387	Peace of Antalcidas.
99	383	Birth of Philip.
	382	Birth of Demosthenes.
100	379	The Corinthian confederacy dissolved by the Spartans.
	378	New maritime confederacy formed, under Athens [<i>de P. L.</i> § 141-2].
101	374-3	Aeschines serves in the expedition.
102	371	Peace of Callias between Sparta and Athens. Battle of Leuctra. Thebes establishes supremacy in Euboea.
	370	Restoration of Macedonia and founding of Megalopolis.
103	369-8	Philip a hostage at Thebes.
	(368-367)	Alexander, regent of Persia.
	367	Aeschines (act. 23) serves under Chares at Colchis, and is rewarded in the coming (366-365) of provisions to Philip [<i>de P. L.</i> § 148. <i>Nen. Hist.</i> 7, 2, 14-15. <i>Dem.</i> 27, 73. <i>Crates</i> x. 81-12].
	366	Thebes occupy Oropus by means of the Lesbian Thurians [<i>Nen. Hist.</i> 7, 4, 1]. Cleon and Philip make a separate peace with Thebes. The Athenians arrange with Alexander to have Amphipolis declared Athenian territory.

LIFE OF AESCHINES.

xlix

104	365-4	Timotheus conquers Samos and part of the Chersonese; carries on war with king Cotys of Thrace, and in Chalcidice, but fails to take Amphipolis.
	363	Death of Pelopidas in Thessaly. Expedition of Epaminondas to Byzantium.
	362	Death of Artaxerxes Mnemon and succession of Darius Codomanus. Battle of Mantinea and death of Epaminondas. Aeschines (act. 27) engaged [<i>P. L.</i> § 163].
105	359	Philip becomes king of Macedonia.
	358	Death of Cotys. The Athenians at war with Cersobleptes and Chaidemos in the Thracian Chersonese.
		Philip takes and then evacuates Amphipolis: but, as the Athenians do nothing, he again takes it professedly in the interests of Athens.
		First expedition into Euboea, to destroy the Theban influence there, under Diocles and Chares. Aeschines (act. 31) engaged [<i>P. L.</i> § 169, cp. in <i>Act.</i> 85. <i>Dem. Arist.</i> § 200. <i>Crates</i> xi. 20. <i>Philw.</i> v. 227].
	357	Second war begun by revolt of Chios, Rhodes, and Byzantium.
		The Phocians seize Delphi. Sacred war.
106	356	Birth of Alexander.
	355	Second war ended, the revolting cities being acknowledged independent.
		Demosthenes begins speaking.
	354	Condemnation of Timotheus.
	353	Philip seizes Pagasæ and besieges Methone.
107	352	Philip defeats Onomarchus, liberates Phocia, but is stopped at Thermopylae by an Athenian fleet.
	351	The first Philippic of Demosthenes.
	350-349	Second expedition into Euboea, under Phocion, at the request of Plutarch of Eretria,

OL. B.C.

supported by Eubolus and opposed by Demosthenes. At the battle of Tanagra Aeschines (act. 39) served in the *ἐπιμεχιστὴς* who secured the victory, and was selected to take home news of the victory [Dem. *in Mid.* § 110. Aesch. *F. L.* § 162. Grote, xi. 144. Thirlw. v. 262].

Philip taking towns in the Chalcidic peninsula.

349 Philip attacks Olynthus. The Olynthian Orations of Demosthenes.

Aeschines (act. 40) begins to take part in public affairs, and advises war with Philip.

108 348 Philip takes Olynthus.

347 Aeschines (act. 42) goes on a mission to the Peloponnese to form a coalition against Philip [Dem. *F. L.* § 10. Grote, xi. 171. Thirlw. v. 326—7]. Death of Plato.

346 The first embassy to Philip proposed by Aristodemus, Neoptolimus, and Ctesiphon [Dem. *F. L.* § 12]. Aeschines (act. 43) serves on it.

Peace arranged (March) on the basis of *status quo*.

Decree of Timarchus against exporting arms and ship stores to Philip.

Philip takes various places in Thrace [Grote, xi. 207].

Second Embassy (April—June).

In June Philip takes the oath at Phoenice.

Later in June Phalaecus surrenders Thermopylae to Philip; and the Phocian cities submit. A third embassy is sent, on which Demosthenes refuses to serve, and Aeschines does not go owing to sickness. The ambassadors fail to see Philip.

July. Aeschines visits Philip in Phoenice, and asserts that he saved the lives of many Phocians [Dem. *F. L.* 380. Aesch. *F. L.* 139—142. Grote, xi. 228. Thirlw. vi. 5]. End of the Sacred War.

OL. B.C. 345 Aeschines (act. 44) elected deputy to plead the cause of the Athenians in the dispute about Iodos; but his election is quashed by the Areopagus [Dem. *de Cor.* § 134]. Aeschines prosecutes Timarchus.

107 344 An Athenian expedition into Acarnania. The mission of Pythion of Byzantium to Athens. The 2nd Philippic of Demosthenes.

343 Philip takes Halonesus.

Mission of Hegesippus to Philip [*in Clus.* § 83. Grote, xi. 251].

342 Philip in Thrace.

Speeches of Demosthenes and Aeschines on the Embassy. Aeschines (act. 47) acquitted by a narrow majority.

341 Despatches in the Chersonese; dispute with Philip as to Cardia. The 3rd Philippic and 'on the Chersonese' of Demosthenes [Grote, xi. 255]. Expedition into Euboea under Phocion. Execution of Anaxinus of Oreeus, as a supposed spy of Philip [*in Clus.* § 223—4].

116 340 Demosthenes at Byzantium.

Midsummer. War declared with Philip [Grote, xi. 272].

Demosthenes carries his trierarchic Law.

339 Aeschines (act. 50) at the Amphictyonic council, in February, advises the punishment of the Amphissians [*in Clus.* § 106 sqq. Grote, xi. 272].

338 June. Philip, being chosen general of the Amphictyons, marches south and seizes and fortifies Elatea [Dem. *de Cor.* § 169 sqq. Aesch. *in Clus.* § 140].

August. Battle of Chaeroneia.

Death of Isocrates.

337 Ctesiphon proposes to crown Demosthenes for his public services.

Aeschines (act. 52) gives notice of a *γραφὴ παρανόμων*.

- OL. 111 336 Philip assassinated (in July) by Pausanias. Alexander elected general of the Greeks in the Persian war.
- 335 Thales revolts in the Spring while Alexander is in Thracæ, and is destroyed in September.
- 334 Alexander crosses the Hellespont in the Spring. Antipater left regent of Macedonia. Battle of the Granicus (May).
- 333 Anti King of Sparta negotiates with the officers of the King of Persia, and receives 30 talents and 10 horses by name & bestows of states against Macedonia.
- Battle of Issus (November).
- 112 332 Tyre taken by Alexander after seven months' siege. Alexandria founded.
- 331 Battle of Arbela (October).
- About the same time Artabazus is defeated and killed by Antipater near Megalopolis (*ib. l. c.* § 142. Justin, vii. 1).
- 330 The trial of Cleandrus on Demosthenes' impeachment comes on shortly before the Pythian games (*ib. l. c.* § 204), that is, in January or February. Demosthenes returns to Ephesus (*ib. l. c.* 58). July. Harpalus killed.
- 113 325 Harpalus comes to Athens from Bactriana.
- 114 324 Demosthenes imprisoned on a charge of receiving bribes. Harpalus to Treasurer.
- 323 Death of Alexander.
- Demosthenes returns to Athens.
- Demosthenes (*ib. l. c.* 65) returns to Thessaly. Lamian War.
- 322 Battle of Cræsus.
- Death of Demosthenes and Aristotle.
- 115 317 Death of Demosthenes and Antipater.
- 116 314 Antipater (*ib. l. c.* 70) dies at Samos.

ΚΑΤΑ ΚΤΗΣΙΦΩΝΤΟΣ.

ΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ.

23 Κτησιφῶν ἐγγράψε ψήφισμα στεφανῶσαι Δημοσθένην Δημοσθένους Παιωνία χρίσθ' στεφάνῳ καὶ ἀναγορεῖσαι τὸν στέφανον ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ Διονυσίας τραγωδοῦν, ὅτι ἀατελεῖ τὰ ἄριστα καὶ λέγων καὶ πρώτῳ τῷ ὄντι τῶν Ἀθηναίων. τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα ἐγγράφητο Αἰσχίνης παρα- 5 νήμων, καὶ εὐσάγει κεφαλὰς γενικὰ τρεῖς, ἐν μὲν ὅτι ἐπέβησαν αὐτὰ τὸν Δημοσθένην ἐστεφανώσασιν τοῦ νόμου κελεύοντος μὴ ἐξῆναι ὑπεύθυνον ἄρχοντα στεφανοῦν, 10 περὶ οὐσίῃς, δεύτερον δὲ ὅτι ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ ἀνέκρινε τὸν ἀστέφανον ἀπαγορευόντος τοῦ νόμου μὴ εἶναι στεφανοῦν 15 ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, περὶ ποιότητος, τρίτον καὶ τελευτῶν, ὅτι καὶ τὰ ψευδῆ ἐγγραφέν ἐν τῷ ψήφισματι. οἷον εἶναι γὰρ καλὸν καὶ ἀγαθὸν τὸν Δημοσθένην, οὐδὲ ἄξιον τοῦ στεφάνου. καὶ τοῦτο εἰς τὰ παλαιὰ μὲν ἀνακτεῖν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ νόμος ἐστὶν ὁ καλῶν τὰ ψευδῆ γράφειν ἐν τοῖς 20 ψήφισματιν· ἐστὶ δὲ περὶ ποιότητος. ὑπεφάνης δὲ λαμβάνει τρεῖς· πρῶς μὲν τὸ πρῶτον εὐσεβῶς ἐρωίντος Δημοσθένους, ὅτι οὐκ ἦν ἄρχων οὐδὲ ἐστὶν ἀρχὴ ἢ τῶν τειχῶν οὐκ ἐκείνη ἀλλὰ οὐκ ἐστὶν τις καὶ ἐπιμέλεια, εἰ δὲ καὶ ἀρχή, τῷ γὰρ ἐπιδοσκέειν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων καὶ μὴ ἐν 25 εἰληφείναι ἐκ τῆς πόλεως οἷον ἦν ὑπεύθυνος, περὶ ποιότητος ἀμφότερον· πρῶς δὲ τοῦτο ὁ Αἰσχίνης εὐσάγει

στοχαστικὸν κεφάλαιον, οὐ μέντοι κατασκευάζειν εἰ δὲ
καὶ παρ' ἑαυτοῦ ἐπέθηκεν, ἀλλ' εἶχε παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς
25 εἰς τοῦτο δέκα τάλαντα, περὶ οὐσίας. πρὸς δὲ τὸ δευτε-
ρον κεφάλαιον παρεχομένων Δημοσθένους νόμον ἕτερον
κελεύοντα ἀνακηρύττειν ἐν τῷ δέσφῳ ἂν ὑψίστηται ὁ
ἄνθρωπος, Αἰσχίνης οὐ περὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν αὐτὸν εἰσι-
φέρειν ἀλλὰ περὶ τῶν ξενικῶν στεφάνων, περὶ οὐσίας.
30 πρὸς δὲ τὸ τρίτον πολλὰ κατὰ μέρος. αἵται δὲ τῶν
Δημοσθένειν εἰς τέσσαρας καιροὺς διηρημένοι τὴν ἀπο-
λογίαν, τὰ πρῶτα κατ' ἕκαστον εἰς ταύτους μερίσονται.
πρῶτον μὲν οὖν φησὶν εἶναι καιρὸν τὸν τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ
πρώτου τοῦ πρὸς Φίλιππον περὶ Ἀμφιπόλεως γενομένου,
35 δεύτερον δὲ τὸν τῆς εἰρήνης, τρίτον δὲ τὸν τοῦ πολέμου
τοῦ δευτέρου καὶ τῆς περὶ Χαίρωνων ἡττης, τέταρτον
δὲ τὸν παρόντα καιρὸν τὸν περὶ τῶν πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον
πολιτευμάτων. ἐν μὲν οὖν τῷ πρώτῳ αἶτιον αὐτὸν φησι
γεγονέαι τῆς εἰρήνης, αἰσχρῆς οὐσίας καὶ ἀδύνατος, καὶ
40 τοῦ μὴ μετὰ κοινοῦ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀντιεῖναι τὴν πόλιν
αὐτὴν πεποισθῆναι. ἐν δὲ τῷ δευτέρῳ, ὅτι τὸν πόλεμον
τὸν πρὸς Φίλιππον αὐτὸς παρέσκεψεν. ἐν δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ,
ὅτι τοῦ ἑσπέρου πολέμου καὶ τῶν περὶ Φοκίαν συμβάντων
αὐτὸς ἐγένετο, καὶ τῆς ἡττης τῆς ἐν Χαίρωνει. πέμπτος
45 μετὰ Θαρβάων ἀρμένους τὸν πόλεμον πρὸς Φίλιππον
παρατίξασθαι. ἐν δὲ τῷ τελευταίῳ, ὅτι κατ' αὐτὸν πρὸς
Ἀλέξανδρον οὐκ ἐπολεμήσατο. μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ τοῦ
βίου παιτὸς τοῦ Δημοσθένους κατηγορεῖ, καὶ εἰ καὶ
Κτησιφῶντος ἐν ὁμίλῳ, ἐν οἷς ἀξιοῖ αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ
50 τὸν Κτησιφῶντα ἀπολογεῖσθαι. τὰ μὲν οὖν κεφάλαια
ταῦτ' ἐστὶν· εἰκότι δὲ τὸν ἀγῶνα Δημοσθένους.

Μερίσονται μέντοι τινὲς τὸν Αἰσχίνην ὅτι οὐκ ἐνδύ-
τρίεν ἐν τῷ παρανόμῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς πολιτείας κατη-

γορεῖ τοῦ Δημοσθένους, καλῶς πεπολιτευμένου τοῦ
αἰσφύου. αὐτὸς δὲ τοῖναντίον τούτῳ μάλιστα ἰσχυρίζεται, 55
λέγων οὕτως “ἔστι δ' ὑπολοιπὸν μέρος τῆς κατηγορίας
ἐφ' ᾧ μάλιστα σπουδάζω· τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν ἡ πρόφασις δι'
ἣν αὐτὸν ἀξιοῖ στεφανοῦσθαι.” μήποτε δὲ ἄριστα τοῦτο
ἔπραξεν· ἐπεὶ γὰρ εἶχε δοῦν μεγάλην παρὰ πᾶσι καὶ
ὑπολήψιν ὁ Δημοσθένης ὡς λαμπρότατα πεπολιτευ-
μένος, εἰκότως φήσῃ ὑπερβολὴς καὶ οὐδενὸς ἀξίους φανή-
σθαι τοὺς περὶ τῶν παρανόμων λόγους, εἰ μὴ δοῦσαν
αὐτῷ ἐμπροσθε τὴν ἐναιτίαν, ὡς ἄρα ὁ Δημοσθένης
κακίους ἐστὶ τῷ δήμῳ καὶ αἰσχρῶς καὶ ἐπιμέμπτως
πεπολιτεῖται. διὰ τοῦτο ἐπιποιῶμεν περὶ τοῦτο μάλιστα, 65
καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ μέρει τῆς κατηγορίας τὸ πλείστον
ἐνδιέτριψε. μέντοι οὐδ' ἂν τις τὸ προοίμιον ὡς τραγικὸν
καὶ περιττὸν καὶ ἐπιλόγῳ μᾶλλον εἰκόσι.

Ἡ στάσις τοῦ λόγου ἐστὶ πραγματικὴ ἔγγραφος,
ὥσπερ καὶ ἡ τοῦ ὑπὲρ τοῦ στεφάνου. τὰ δὲ κεφάλαια τοῦ
ὁμιλοῦντος τῆς πραγματικῆς περιέχει ἅπερ καὶ ἐκεῖ, οἷον
τὸ νόμιμον τετιμωμένον εἰς τρεῖς νόμους, τὸ δὲ δίκαιον εἰς
τέσσαρας καιροὺς. ὅρα δὲ πῶς ἐπιλογικῶς ἤρξατο ἀπὸ
συνηγμένων ἐκβολῆς, ὥσπερ καὶ Δημοσθένης.

Τινὲς εἶπον ὅτι οὐκ ἔχει κατασκευὴν τὸ προοίμιον· τὸ
οἰκοῦν οὐδὲ συμπέρασμα δεῖ ζητεῖν. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστιν
ἀκατάσκευον· ἔστι γὰρ αὐτοῦ κατασκευὴ “ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὰ
μέτρια καὶ τὰ σιγήσει μὴ γίγνησθαι ἐν τῇ πόλει.” εἰ γὰρ
ἡ αἰτία τῆς προτάσεως ἐστὶν ἡ κατασκευὴ, διὰ δὲ τὸ τὰ
μέτρια μὴ γίγνησθαι ἐν τῇ πόλει αἱ δεσπεῖς, κατασκευὴ 70
ἂν εἴη. ἔχει δὲ καὶ συμπέρασμα, “ἐγὼ δὲ πεπιστευκῶς
ἴκω” ὥς τοῦ “μεῖζον τῶν νόμων καὶ τῶν δίκαιων.”

Τὴν μὲν παρασκευὴν ὁράτε, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ τὴν
παρατάξιν, ὅση γεγένηται. καὶ τὰς κατὰ τὴν ἀγο-

ρὴν δείσεις, αἷς κέχρηται τινες ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὰ μέτρια
 καὶ τὰ σινηρὰ μὴ γένησθαι ἐν τῇ πόλει· ἐγὼ δὲ
 πεπιστευκὰς ἴκω πρῶτον μὲν τοῖς θεοῖς εὐτερον δὲ
 τοῖς νόμοις καὶ ἑαῖν, ἡγοῦμαι οὐδεμίαν παρα-
 σκεὴν ἰσχύειν παρ' ἡμῶν μᾶλλον τῶν νόμων καὶ τῶν
 2 δίκαιων. βουλευόμεν μὲν οὖν, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ τὴν
 βουλὴν τοῖς πεντακισίωνις καὶ τοῖς ἐκακτοῖς ἅς ἔπ' αὐ-
 τῶν ἐφειστήκατον ἐθέλεις ἀποκρίσθαι, καὶ τοὺς νόμους
 οἷς εἰσπαύεσθαι ὁ Σόλων περὶ τῆς τῶν ῥητορῶν
 εἰκασίας ἰσχύειν, ἢ ἔξω πρῶτον μὲν τῷ πρεσβυ-
 τάτῳ τῶν πολιτῶν, ὡςπερ οἱ νόμοι κελεύουσιν, σω-
 φρονῶς ἐπὶ τῷ βέλῳ παραδόναι τὴν ἑαυτοῦ θυμῶν καὶ
 παραχρῆς εἰς διακρίσεις τὰ βέλτεστα τῇ πόλει σιωποῦ-
 λειν. δεύτερον δ' ἐπὶ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν τὸν
 βουλευόμενον κατ' ἡλικίαν χωρὶς καὶ ἐν μέρει περὶ
 ἐκείνου γινώσκον ἀποφαινεῖν· ὅτι γὰρ ὥς μὲν
 δεκάτῃ τε πάλιν ἀρῶσα ἐπαινεῖται αἱ τε κρίσεις
 3 ἐλάχισται γίνονται ἐπὶ τῇ δὲ πάντα τὰ προτέρου
 ἀπολογίᾳ καλῶς ὅπως καὶ καταλείπεται, καὶ
 γράφουσιν τε τινες ῥητῶς παραπλοῆς γινώσκας, καὶ
 ταῦτα ἔτι τινες τὰ ψεύδονται ἐπὶ τῇ ἀφαιρέσει
 ἐκ ἐκ τοῖς δικαστηρίοις παραχρῆς τῶν ἐκείνων
 ἀλλ' ἐκ παλαιότητος καθήκοντα, ἐν οἷς τις τῶν
 ἄλλων βουλευτῶν ὅπως λάχῃ κληρονομήσας προ-
 εἶρεται καὶ τὸς ἑαυτοῦ χειρισμούς, ὡςπερ ἀντι-
 ρεῖν, τοῦτων οἱ τὸν πολιτικὸν καιρὸν οἴκῃ· ἀλλ'
 ἴδιον αὐτῶν ἡγοῦμαι ἀπαλῶσαι εἰσαγγέλλειν,
 καταδιδόναι τοῖς ἰδοῦσι καὶ δυνασταῖς ἑαυτοὺς
 4 περιποιούμενοι, καὶ τὰς κρίσεις τῆς μὲν ἐκ τῶν νόμων
 καταλείδασιν τῆς δ' ἐκ τῶν ψεύδων μετ' ὀργῆς

κρίνουσι, σέσιγεται μὲν τὸ κάλλιστον καὶ σωφρο-
 νίστατον κρυγμὰ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει· τίς ἀγορεύειν
 βούλεται τῶν ὑπὲρ πεντήκοντα ἔτη γεγονότων καὶ
 πάλιν ἐν μέρει τῶν ἄλλων Ἀθηναίων, τῆς δὲ τῶν
 ῥητορῶν ἀκρομαίας οἴκῃ κρατεῖν διγνῆται οἷθ' οἱ
 νόμοι οἷθ' οἱ πρυτάνεις οἷθ' οἱ πρεσβυροὶ οἷθ' ἢ
 προεφύοντα ἐν τῇ πόλει, τὸ δέκατον μέρος τῆς πόλεως.
 τοῦτων δ' ἕκαστον οἷτως, καὶ τῶν καιρῶν ὅτων τῇ δ'
 πόλει τοιοῦτων ὅπως τινὲς αἰτοῖς ἑαῖς ὑπολαμ-
 βάνετε εἶναι, ἐν ὑπολείπεται μέρος τῆς πολιτείας,
 εἰ τι κίχῃ τυχάνῃ γινώσκων, αἱ τῶν παλαιῶν
 γραφαί, εἰ δὲ καὶ ταύτας καταλίσετε ἢ τοῖς κατα-
 λίσουσιν ἐπιτρέψετε, προλέγω ἡμῖν ὅτι λίσετε κατὰ
 μικρὸν τῆς πολιτείας τισὶ παραχωρήσαντες, εὖ γὰρ δ'
 ἴστε, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅτι τρεῖς εἰσι πολιτεῖαι παρὰ
 πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, τυραννὶς καὶ ὀλιγαρχία καὶ δημο-
 κρατία, διακρίνεται δ' αἱ μὲν τυραννίδες καὶ ὀλιγαρ-
 χίαι τοῖς τρόποις τῶν ἐφειστήκατον, αἱ δὲ πόλεις αἱ
 δημοκρατούμεναι τοῖς νόμοις τοῖς κειμένοις, μηδεὶς
 οὖν ὑμῶν ταῦτ' ἀγνοεῖτω, ἀλλὰ σαφῶς ἕκαστος
 ἐπιστάσθω, ὅτι ὅταν εἰσέλῃ εἰς δικαστήριον γραφὴν
 παρανομῶν ἀκρίτων, ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ μέλλει τὴν
 ψήφον φέρειν περὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ παρησίας. εἴπερ
 καὶ ὁ νομοθέτης τοῦτο πρῶτον ἐτάξεν ἐν τῷ τῶν
 δικαστῶν ἔργῳ, “ψηφίζεσθαι κατὰ τοὺς νόμους,”
 ἐκείνῳ γε εὖ εὐδὲς, ὅτι ἔσαν διατηρηθῶσιν οἱ νόμοι
 τῇ πόλει, σάξεται καὶ ἡ δημοκρατία. ἡ γὰρ δια-
 μνημονεύοντας ἡμῶς μὲν τὰς τὰ παρὶν ὅμα γρά-
 φοντας, καὶ μηδὲν ἡγούμεναι μικρὸν εἶναι τῶν τοιοῦ-
 των ἀδικημάτων ἀλλ' ἕκαστον ὑπερμέγαλές, καὶ

τοῖθ' ἰμῶν τὸ δίκαιον μηδὲν ἀνθρώπων ἐξαίρει-
σθαι, μήτε τὰς τῶν στρατηγῶν συνηγορίας, οἳ ἐπὶ
πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον συνεργοῦντες τισι τῶν ῥητόρων
λυμαίνονται τὴν πολιτείαν, μήτε τὰς τῶν ξένων δεύ-
σεις, οἷς ἀναδιδαζόμενοι τινες ἐκβαλγούσιν ἐκ τῶν
δικαστηρίων, παρίνομον πολιτείαν πολιτευόμενοι·
ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἂν ἰμῶν ἕκαστος αἰσχυθείη τὴν τάξιν
λιπεῖν ἢ ἂν ταχθῇ ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ, οὕτω καὶ νῦν
αἰσχυθήτε ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν τάξιν ἢ τεταχθεῖ ὑπὸ τῶν
νόμων φιλακες τῆς δημοκρατίας τῆδε τὴν ἡμέραν.
8 κῆκεῖνο δὲ χρὴ διαμνημονεύειν, ὅτι νῦν ὅπαντες οἱ
πολῖται παρακαταθέμενοι τὴν πόλιν ἡμῖν καὶ τὴν
πολιτείαν ἐμπιστεύσαντες οἱ μὲν πᾶραισι καὶ ἐπα-
κούουσι τῆσδε τῆς κρίσεως, οἱ δὲ ἄπεισιν ἐπὶ τῶν
ἰδίων ἔργων· οἷς αἰσχυρόμενοι, καὶ τῶν ἔρκων οἷς
ὠμόσατε μνησμένοι καὶ τῶν νόμων, ὧν ἐξελέγξω-
μεν Κτησιφῶντα καὶ παρανομα γραφόντα καὶ ψευ-
δῆ καὶ ἀσύμφορα τῇ πόλει, λίσσεται ὧ Ἀθηναῖοι τὰς
παρανομὰς γνώμας. Βεβαίωστε τῇ πόλει τὴν δημο-
κρατίαν, κολάζετε τοὺς ὑπεραντίως τῷ νόμῳ καὶ τῇ
πόλει καὶ τῷ συμφέροντι τῷ ἡμετέρῳ πολιτευόμε-
νους. κἀν ταύτῃ ἔχοντες τὴν δίκαιαν ἀκοίσητε τῶν
μελλόντων ῥηθῆσθαι λόγων, εἰ οἶδ' ὅτι δίκαια
καὶ εὖ ποκα καὶ συμφέροντα ἡμῖν αἰτοῖς ψηφισθεῖ-
καὶ πάσῃ τῇ πόλει.

9 Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς ὅλης κτηνηγίας μετρίως μὲν
ἐλπίξω προειρῆσθαι· περὶ δὲ αὐτῶν τῶν νόμων οἱ
κεῖνται περὶ τῶν ὑπευθύνων, παρ' οἷς τὸ ψηφίσμα
τοῦτο τυγχάνει γραφῆς Κτησιφῶν. διὰ βραχείων
εἰπεῖν βούλομαι, ἐν γὰρ τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις

ἄρχοντες τινες τὰς μεγίστας ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς προσό-
δους διοικούντες, καὶ ζωροδοκούντες περὶ ἕκαστα
ταύτων, προσλαμβάνοντες τοῖς τε ἐκ τοῦ βουλευτη-
ρίου ῥήτορας καὶ τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ δήμου πόρρωθεν προ-
κατελόμενον τὰς εὐθείας ἐπαίους καὶ κηρύγμασιν,
ὥστ' ἐν ταῖς εὐθείαις τῶν ἀρχόντων εἰς τὴν μεγίσ-
την μὲν ἀπορίαν ἀφικνεῖσθαι τοῖς κατηγοροῦς, πολὺ
δὲ ἐπὶ μᾶλλον τοῖς δικαστάς. πολλοὶ γὰρ πάνυ τῶν 10
ὑπευθύνων ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ κλέπται τῶν δημοσίων
χρημάτων· ὅτε ἐξελεγχόμενοι διεφίγγανον ἐκ τῶν
δικαστηρίων. εἰκότως· ἡσχύνοντο γὰρ εἶμαι οἱ
δικασταί. εἰ φανήσεται ὁ αὐτὸς ἀνὴρ ἐν τῇ αἰτῇ
πύλει, τυχὼν δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἐνιαυτῷ, πρόφην μὲν
ποτε ἀπαγορευόμενος ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσιν ὅτι στεφανοῦ-
ται ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ δικαιοσύνης ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου
χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ, ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς ἀνὴρ μικρὴν ἐπισχὼν
ἐξαισιν ἐκ τοῦ δικαστηρίου κλοπῆς ἕνεκα τὰς εὐθείας
ἀφληκός· ὥστε ἡναγκάζοντο τὴν ψῆφον φέρειν οἱ
δικασταί οἱ περὶ τοῦ παρόντος ἀδικήματος ἀλλ'
ὑπὲρ τῆς αἰσχίης τοῦ δήμου. κατιδὼν δὲ τις ταῦτα 11
νομοθέτης τίθησι νόμον καὶ μάλα καλῶς ἔχοντα,
τῶν διαρρηθῆναι ἀπαγορεύοντα τοῖς ὑπευθύνους μὴ
στεφανοῦν. καὶ ταῦτα οὕτως εὖ προκατειληφὸς
τοῦ νομοθέτου εὔρηται κρείττους λόγοι τῶν νόμων,
οἷς εἰ μὴ τις ἡμῖν ἐρεῖ, λίσσεται ἐξαπατηθέντες. τοί-
των γὰρ τινες τῶν τοῖς ὑπευθύνους στεφανοῦντων
παρὰ τοῖς νόμοις οἱ μὲν φέσει μετρίοι εἶναι, εἰ δὲ
τίς ἐστι μέτριος τῶν τὰ παρανομα γραφόντων· ἀλλ'
ὧν προβάλλονται γέ τι πρὸ τῆς αἰσχίης. προσ-
εγγράφουσι γὰρ πρὸς τὰ ψηφίσματα στεφανοῦν τὸν

ἰπείθυον ἐπειδὴν λόγον καὶ εὐθίως τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐφ'
12 καὶ ἡ μὲν πόλις τὸ ἴσον ἀδίκημα ἀδικεῖται (προκατα-
λαμβάνονται γὰρ ἐπαίνοισ καὶ στεφάνοις αἱ εὐθίαι),
ὁ δὲ τὸ ψήφισμα γράφων ἐνδεικνύται τοῖς ἀκούουσιν
ὅτι γέγραφε μὲν παράνομα, αἰσχύνεται δὲ ἐξ' οἷς
ἡμάρτηκε. Κτησιφῶν δὲ, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, ὑπερπηδήσας
τὸν νόμον τὸν περὶ τῶν ὑπευθύνων κείμενον, καὶ τὴν
πρόφασιν ἣν ἐγὼ ἀρτίως προεῖπον ὑμῖν ἀνελάν, πρὶν
λόγον, πρὶν εὐθίως δοῦναι, γέγραφε μεταξὺ Δημο-
σθένην ἀρχοντα στεφανοῦν.

13 Λέξουσιν δὲ ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ ἕτερον λόγον ὑπε-
ναντίον τῷ ἀρτίως εἰρημένῳ, ὡς ἄρα ὅσα τις αἰ-
ρετὸς ἂν πράττει κατὰ ψήφισμα, οἷός ἐστι ταῦτα
ἀρχὴ ἀλλ' ἐπιμελεῖται τις καὶ διακονεῖ· ἀρχὰς δὲ φή-
σουσιν ἐκείνας εἶναι ἃς οἱ θεσμοθέται ἀποκληροῦσιν
ἐν τῷ θησαύρῳ, κείνας ὥς ὁ δῆμος εἴωθε χειροτονεῖν
ἐν ἀρχαιρεσίαις, στρατηγοῖς καὶ ὑπάρχουσιν καὶ τὰς
μετὰ τούτων ἀρχὰς, τὰς δ' ἄλλας ταύτας πραγ-
14 ματείας προστεταγμένας κατὰ ψήφισμα. ἐγὼ δὲ
πρὸς τοῖς λόγοις τοῖς τούτων νόμον ὑμέτερον παρ-
έξομαι, ὃν ὑμεῖς ἐνομοθετήσατε λέγειν ἡγοῦμενοι
τὰς τοιαύτας προφάσεις, ἐν ᾗ διαρρήδην γέγραπται,
“τὰς χειροτονητάς” φησιν· ἀρχὰς ἀπάσας ἐν περι-
λαβῶν ὀνόματι ὁ νομοθέτης, καὶ προσειπὼν ἀρχὰς
ἀπάσας εἶναι ὥς ὁ δῆμος χειροτονεῖ, “καὶ τοὺς ἐπι-
στάτας” φησὶ “τῶν δημοσίων ἔργων” (ἔστι δὲ ὁ
Δημοσθένης τειχοποιός, ἐπιστάτης τοῦ μεγίστου
τῶν ἔργων) “καὶ πάντα ὅσοι διαχειρίζονται τι τῶν
τῆς πολέως πλείον ἢ τριάκονθ' ἡμέρας, καὶ ὅσοι λαμ-
βάνουσιν ἡγεμονίας δικαστηρίων” (οἱ δὲ τῶν ἔργων

ἐπιστάται πάντες ἡγεμονία χρῶνται δικαστηρίου),
τί τοιούτους κελεύει ποιεῖν; οὐ διακονεῖν ἀλλ' ἀρχεῖν 15
δοκιμασθέντας ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ, ἐπειδὴ καὶ αἱ κλη-
ρωταὶ ἀρχαὶ οὐκ ἀδοκίμαστοι ἀλλὰ δοκιμασθεῖσαι
ἀρχοῦσι, καὶ λόγον καὶ εὐθίως ἐγγράφειν πρὸς τὸν
γραμματεῖα καὶ τοὺς λογιστάς, καθάπερ καὶ τὰς
ἄλλας ἀρχὰς, κελεύει. Ὅτι δὲ ἀληθὴ λέγω, τοῖς
νόμοις αἰτοῦς ὑμῖν ἀναγνώσεται.

ΝΟΜΟΙ.

“Ὅταν τοῖνυν, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, ὁ μὲν νομοθέτης 16
ἀρχὰς διορίξῃ, οἱ τοὶ δὲ προσαγορεύωσι πραγμα-
τείας καὶ ἐπιμελείας, ὑμέτερον ἔργον ἐστὶν ἀπομνη-
μονεῖν καὶ ἀντιτάττειν τὸν νόμον πρὸς τὴν τούτων
ἀναίδειαν, καὶ ὑποβάλλειν αἰ τοῖς, ὅτι οὐ προσδε-
χισθε κακοῦργον καὶ σοφιστὴν οἰόμενον βίμασι τοῖς
νόμοις ἀναιρῶσιν, ἀλλ' ὅσῳ ἂν τις ἄμεινον λέγῃ
παράνομα γεγραφώς, τοσούτῳ μείζονος ἐργῆς τεύξε-
ται. χρή γάρ, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸ αὐτὸ φθέγγεσθαι τὸν
βήτορα καὶ τὸν νόμον· ὅταν δὲ ἑτέραν μὲν φωνὴν
ἄφῃ ὁ νόμος ἑτέραν δὲ ὁ βήτωρ, τῷ τοῦ νόμου δικαίῳ
χρή δίδεται τὴν ψήφον, οὐ τῇ τοῦ λέγοντος ἀναι-
σχυντία.

Πρὸς δὲ ἐν τῶν ἀφυκτον λόγον, ὅν φησι Δημο- 17
σθένης, βραχέα βοῶλωμαι προειπεῖν. λέξει γὰρ οὗ-
τος “τειχοποιός εἰμι· ὁμολογῶ· ἀλλ' ἐπιδίδωκα τῇ
πόλει μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ ἔργον μᾶλλον ἐξείργασται.
τίς οἶν εἰμὶ ὑπεύθυνος; εἰ μὴ τίς ἐστιν εἰνοίας
εὐθύνα.” πρὸς δὲ ταύτην τὴν πρόφασιν ἀκούσατέ
μου λέγοντος καὶ δίκαια καὶ συμφέροντα. ἐν γὰρ

ταύτη τῇ πύλει οὕτως ἀρχαία οὖσα καὶ τηλικαύτη
 τὸ μέγεθος οἵδεῖς ἐστὶν ἀνυπεύθυνος τῶν καὶ ὅπως
 18 οὖν πρὸς τὰ κοινὰ προσεληλυθότων. διδίδω δ' ἡμῖς
 πρῶτον ἐπὶ τῶν παραδόξων· οἶον τοὺς ἑρῆς καὶ τὰς
 ἱερείας ὑπευθύνους εἶναι κελεύει ὁ νόμος, καὶ συλ-
 λήβδην ἅπαντας καὶ χωρὶς ἑκάστους κατὰ σῶμα,
 τοὺς τὰ γέγραμμένα λαμβάνοντας καὶ τὰς εἰχὰς ὑπὲρ
 ἡμῶν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εἰχομένους, καὶ οὐ μόνον ἰδίᾳ
 ἀλλὰ καὶ κοινῇ τὰ γέγραμμένα, Εὐμολπίδας καὶ Κήρυκας
 19 καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας. πάλιν τοὺς τριῆραρχους
 ὑπευθύνους εἶναι κελεύει ὁ νόμος οὐ τὰ κοινὰ δια-
 χειρίσαντας οἷδ' ἀπὸ τῶν ὑμετέρων προσέων πολλοὶ
 μὲν ἱφαιρουμενούς βραχέα δὲ κατατιθέοντας, ἐπι-
 διδόναι δὲ φάσκοντας, ἀποδιδόντας δὲ ἡμῖν τὰ ὑμέ-
 τερα, ἀλλ' ἑμολογουμένως τὰς πατρίδας οὐσίας εἰς
 τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀνηλωκίαν φιλοτιμίαν. οὐ τοίνυν
 μόνοι οἱ τριῆραρχοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ μέγιστα τῶν ἐν τῇ
 πόλει συνέρχων ὑπὸ τὴν τῶν δικαστηρίων ἄρχεται
 20 ψήφον. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ τὴν βουλὴν τὴν ἐν Ἀρείῳ
 πάγῳ ἐγγράφειν πρὸς τοὺς λογιστὰς ὁ νόμος κελεύει
 λόγον καὶ εὐθίως διδόναι, καὶ τὸν ἐκεῖ σκυθρωπὸν
 καὶ τῶν μεγίστων κέρμον ὄντι ὑπὸ τὴν ὑμέτεραν
 ψήφον. οὐκ ἄρα στεφανωθήσεται ἡ βουλὴ ἢ ἐξ
 Ἀρείου πάγου; οἷδ' γὰρ πατριὸν αὐτοῖς ἐστίν. οὐκ
 ἄρα φιλοτιμοῦνται; πάνν γε, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀγαπᾶσιν
 εἴν τις παρ' αὐτοῖς μὴ ἀδικῇ, ἀλλ' εἴν τις ἑξαμαρ-
 τάνη κολλάζουσιν· οἱ δὲ ὑμέτεροι βήτορες τρυφῶσι.
 πάλιν τὴν βουλὴν τοῖς πεντακοσίοις ὑπεύθυνον
 21 πεποίηκεν ὁ νομοθέτης. καὶ οὕτως ἰσχυρῶς ἀπιστεῖ
 τοῖς ὑπευθύνοις, ὥστ' εἰθὺς ἀρχόμενος τῶν νόμων

λέγει. “ἀρχὴν ὑπεύθυνον” φησὶ “μὴ ἀποδημεῖν.” ὃ
 Ἡράκλειος. ὑπολάβοι ἂν τις. ἔτι ἤρξα, μὴ ἀποδη-
 μέσω; ἴνα γε μὴ προλαβὼν χρήματα τῆς πόλεως ἢ
 πράξεις δρασμῶ χρησῇ. πάλιν ὑπεύθυνον οὐκ εἰ
 τὴν οὐσίαν καθιεροῖν οὐδὲ ἀνάθημα ἀναθεῖναι οὐδ'
 ἐκποίητον γενέσθαι οὐδὲ διαθίσθαι τὰ ἑαυτοῦ οἷδ'
 ἀλλὰ πολλὰ. ἐνὶ δὲ λόγῳ ἐνεχυράζει τὰς οὐσίας ὁ
 νομοθέτης τὰς τῶν ὑπευθύνων, ἕως ἂν λόγον ἀπο-
 δῶτι τῇ πόλει. ναί, ἀλλ' ἐστὶ τις ἄνθρωπος ἐς οὗτ' 22
 εἰληφέν οἷδ' ἐν τῶν δημοσίων οὗτ' ἀνήλωκε, πρυσ-
 ῆλθε δὲ πρὸς τι τῶν κοινῶν. καὶ τοῖτον ἀποφέρειν
 κελεύει λόγον πρὸς τοὺς λογιστὰς. καὶ πῶς ὁ γε
 μῆεν λαβὼν μὴδ' ἀναλώσας ἀποίσει λόγον τῇ
 πόλει; αὐτὸς ὑποβάλλει καὶ διδάσκει ὁ νόμος ἂν χρή
 γράφειν· κελεύει γὰρ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐγγράφειν, ὅτι
 “οὗτ' ἔλαβον οἷδ' ἐν τῶν τῆς πόλεως οὗτ' ἀνήλωσα.”
 ἀνείθυνον δὲ καὶ ἀνεξέταστον καὶ ἀζήτητον οὐδέν
 ἐστὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει. “Ὅτι δὲ ἀληθῆ λέγω, αὐτᾶν
 ἀκούσατε τῶν νόμων.

ΝΟΜΟΙ.

“Ὅταν τοίνυν μάλιστα θρασύνηται Δημοσθένης 23
 λόγον ὥς διὰ τὴν ἐπίδοσιν οὐκ ἐστὶν ὑπεύθυνος,
 ἐκείνῳ αὐτῷ ὑποβάλλετε· “οὐκ οὖν ἐχρήν σε ὃ Δη-
 μῶσθινες εἶσαι τὸν τῶν λογιστῶν κέρυκα κηρύξαι
 τὸ πατριὸν καὶ ἑννομον κήρυγμα τοῦτο, τίς βούλεται
 κατηγορεῖν; ἔασον ἀμφισβητῆσαί σοι τὸν βουλόμε-
 νον τῶν πολιτῶν ὥς οὐκ ἐπέδωκας, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ πολλῶν
 ὧν ἔχεις εἰς τὴν τῶν τειχῶν οἰκοδομίαν μικρὰ κατέ-
 βηκας, δέκα τάλαντα εἰς ταῦτα ἐκ τῆς πόλεως εἰλη-

φώς. μὴ ἄρπαξε τὴν φιλοτιμίαν, μηδὲ ἐξαίρου τῶν δικαστῶν τὰς ψήφους ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν, μηδ' ἐμπροσθεν τῶν νόμων ἀλλ' ὕστερος πολιτεύου. ταῦτα γὰρ ἔρθωι τὴν δημοκρατίαν."

24 Πρὸς μὲν οὖν τὰς κενὰς προφάσεις, ἃς οὔτως προφασιζοῦνται, μέγα δαῖρον ἐρέσθω μοι· ὅτι ἐξ ὧντος ἵν' ὑπεύθυνος ὁ Δημοσθένης εἴδ' οὗτος εἰσηγεγέκε τὸ ψήφισμα, ἄρχων μὲν τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ θεωρικῷ ἀρχὴν, ἄρχων δὲ τὴν τῶν τειχοποιῶν, οὐδετέρως εἰπω τῶν ἀρχῶν τούτων λόγον ὑμῶν οὐδ' εἰθίτας δεδωκώς, ταῦτ' ἵνα περὶ ἡμῶν διδάσκωιν ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων γράμματα. Καί μοι ἀνάγνωθι ἐπὶ τινος ἀρχοντος καὶ πλείου μηνὸς καὶ ἐν τινὶ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ἐν ποίᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐχειροτονήθη Δημοσθένης τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ θεωρικῷ.

ΔΙΑΛΟΓΙΣΜΟΣ ΤΩΝ ΗΜΕΡΩΝ.

Οἴκοι' εἰ μὴ ἐν ἑπταμεσέσιν ἐπὶ περαιτέρῳ τοῦτον δεῖξαι, δικαίως ἂν ἀλέσκειτο Κτησιφῶν· αἰεὶ γὰρ αἰτῶν οἷχ' ἢ κατηγορεῖται ἢ ἐρᾷ ἀλλὰ τὰ δημόσια γράμματα.

25 Πρῶτον μὲν τοῖνον, ὃ Ἀθηναῖον, ἀντιγραφὴς ἵνα χειροτονητὴς τῇ πόλει, ὃς κατ' ἐπίστην πρωταρχεῖν ἀπελογίετο τὰς πρωτόθεν τῷ δήμῳ· εἰ δὲ τὴν πρὸς Κίρβουλον γενομένην πίστιν ἡμῶν εἰ ἐπὶ τὸ θεωρικὸν κεχειροτονημένος ἦρχον μὲν πρὶν ἢ τὸν Ἡγήμενος νόμον γενέσθαι τὴν ταῦ ἀντιγραφείως ἀρχὴν, ἦρχον δὲ τὴν τῶν ἀποδεκτῶν, καὶ νεώριον καὶ σκευόθηκην ὀκοῶμενον, ἦσαν δὲ καὶ ὁδοποιοὶ καὶ σχεδὼν τὴν ὅλην διοίκησιν εἶχον τῆς πόλεως.
26 καὶ οὐ κατηγοροῦν αὐτῶν οὐδ' ἐπιτιμᾶν λέγω, ἀλλ'

ἐκείνο ὑμῶν ἐδειξασθαι βούλομαι, ὅτι ὁ μὲν νομοεῖτης, εἴαν τις μὴς ἀρχῆς τῆς ἐλαχίστης ὑπεύθυνος ἦ, τοῦτον οἶκ' εἴη πρὶν ἂν λίγους καὶ εἰθίτας ἐὼ στεφανοῖν, ὁ δὲ Κτησιφῶν Δημοσθένην τὸν συλλαβὴν ἀπάσας τὰς Ἀθηναίων ἀρχὰς ἄρχοντα οὐκ ἔκρινε γράψαι στεφανῶσαι.

Ὡς τοῖνον καὶ τὴν τῶν τειχοποιῶν ἀρχὴν ἦρχεν 27 εἴ' οὗτος τὸ ψήφισμα ἔγραψε, καὶ τὰ δημόσια χρήματα διεχείριζε καὶ ἐπιβολὰς ἐπέβαλλε καθάπερ οἱ ἄλλοι ἄρχοντες, καὶ δικαστηρίων ἡγεμονίας ἐλάμβανε. τοῖτων ὑμῶν αὐτὸν Δημοσθένην καὶ Κτησιφῶντα μάρτυρας παρέξομαι. ἐπὶ γὰρ Χαιράνδου ἡρχοῦτος βαργηλιᾶτος μηνὸς δευτέρᾳ φθίνοντος ἐκκλησίας οἷσις ἔγραψε ψήφισμα Δημοσθένης ἀγορεύειν ποιῆσαι τῶν φυλῶν σκιροφοριᾶτος δευτέρᾳ ἵσταμένῳ καὶ τρίτῃ, καὶ ἐπέταξεν ἐν τῷ ψήφισματι ἵεσθαι τῶν φυλῶν ἐλίσθαι τοῖς ἐπιμελησομένοις τῶν ἔργων ἐπὶ τὰ τεῖχη καὶ ταμίαις, καὶ μάλα ἄρθως, εἴ ἢ πόλις ἔχει ὑπεύθυνα σώματα, παρ' ἃν ἔμελλε τὸν ἀνθρωπίνου λόγου ἀπολήψισθαι. Καί μοι εἰγε τὰ ψήφισματα.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ.

Ναί, ἀλλ' ἀντιδιαπλέκει πρὸς τοῦτο εἰθίς 28 λόγον ὥς αὐτ' ἔλαχε τειχοποιὸς οἷτ' ἐχειροτονήθη πρὸ τοῦ δήμου. καὶ περὶ τοῦτου Δημοσθένης μὲν καὶ Κτησιφῶν πολὺν ποιεῖσονται λόγον· ὁ δὲ γενοσὶς βραχὺς καὶ σαφὴς καὶ ταχὺ λίγων τὰς τούτων τεχνίας. μικρὰ δὲ ὑμῶν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν πρῶτον προστεῖν βούλομαι. ἔστι γὰρ ὃ Ἀθηναῖοι τῶν περὶ 29 τὰς ἀρχὰς εἶη τρία, ὧν ἐν μὲν καὶ φανερώτατον οἱ

κληρωτοὶ καὶ οἱ χειροποιητοὶ ἄρχοντες, δευτέρου δὲ ὅσοι τι διαχειρίζουσι τῶν τῆς πόλεως ὑπὲρ τριᾶκοντα ἡμέρας καὶ οἱ τῶν δημοσίων ἔργων ἐπιστάται· τρίτον δ' ἐν τῷ νόμῳ γέγραπται, καὶ εἴ τινες ἄλλοι αἰρετοὶ ἡγεμονίας δικαστηρίων λαμβάνουσι, καὶ τοῖς τοὺς ἄρχων δοκιμασθέντας. ἐπειδὴν δ' ἀφ' ἧς τις τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου κεχειροτονημένους καὶ τοὺς κληρωτοὺς ἄρχοντας, καταλείπεται, οἷς αἱ φυλαὶ καὶ αἱ τριττὲς καὶ οἱ δῆμοι ἐξ ἑαυτῶν αἰροῦνται τὰ δημόσια χρήματα διαχειρίζειν, τούτους αἰρετοὺς ἄρχοντας εἶναι. τοῦτο δὲ γίνεται ὅταν, ὥσπερ νῦν, ἐπιταχθῇ τι ταῖς φυλαῖς, ἢ τάφρους ἐξεργάζεσθαι ἢ τριῖρεις ναυπηγᾶσθαι. Ὅτι δὲ ἀληθῆ λέγω, ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν νόμων μαθήσεσθε.

ΝΟΜΟΙ.

31 Ἀναμνήσθητε δὴ τοὺς προσηγμένους λόγους, ὅτι ὁ μὲν νομοθέτης τοῖς ἐκ τῶν φυλῶν ἄρχων κελεύει δοκιμασθέντας ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ, ἡ δὲ Παιδιονὶς φυλὴ ἄρχοντα καὶ τειχοποιὸν ἀπέδειξε Δημοσθίνην, ὅς ἐκ τῆς διοικήσεως εἰς ταῦτα ἔχει μικροῦ δεῖν δέκα τάλαντα, ἕτερος δ' ἀπαγορεύει νόμος ἄρχ' ἵππευθινον μὴ στεφανοῦν, ὑμεῖς δὲ ὁμωμέκατέ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους ψηφιεῖσθαι, ὁ δὲ ῥήτορ γέγραφε τὴν ἵππευθινον στεφανοῦν οὐ προσβλῆς "ἐπειδὴν δὲ λόγον καὶ εἰδήτας", ἐγὼ δὲ ἐξελέγχω τὸ παράνομον μάρτυρας ὅμα τοῖς νόμοις καὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα καὶ τοῖς ἀντιθέτοις παρεχόμενος. πῶς οὖν ἂν τις περιφρονέστερον ἐπιδείξειεν αἰθροποιῶν παραγομένατα γεγραφέα;

Ὡς τοίνυν καὶ τὴν ἀνάρρησιν τοῦ στεφάνου 32 παρανόμως ἐν τῷ ψηφίσματι κελεύει γίγνεσθαι, καὶ τοῖθ' ὑμᾶς διδάξω. ὁ γὰρ νόμος διαρρίδην κελεύει, ἐὰν μὲν τινα στεφανοῖ ἡ βουλὴ, ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ ἀνακηρύττεσθαι. ἐὰν δὲ ὁ δῆμος, ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἄλλοθι δὲ μηδαμοῖ. Καὶ μοι λέγε τὸν νόμον.

ΝΟΜΟΣ.

Ὁςτος ὁ νόμος, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ μάλα καλῶς 33 ἔχει. οὐ γὰρ (οἶμαι) ᾔετο δεῖν ὁ νομοθέτης τὸν ῥήτορα σσημίνεσθαι πρὸς τοῖς ἔξωθεν, ἀλλ' ἀγαπᾶν ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει τιμήμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου καὶ μὴ ἐργολαβεῖν ἐν τοῖς κηρύγμασιν. ὁ μὲν οὖν νομοθέτης οὕτως· ὁ δὲ Κτησιφῶν πῶς; Ἀναγίνωσκε τὸ ψηφισμα.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

Ἀκούετε, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅτι ὁ μὲν νομοθέτης κελεύει 34 ἐν τῷ δήμῳ ἐν Πυκνῇ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀνακηρύττειν τὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου στεφανοῦμενον, ἄλλοθι δὲ μηδαμοῖ, Κτησιφῶν δὲ ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, οὐ τοῖς νόμοις μόνον ὑπερβλῆς ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν τοπον μετενεγκών, οἷδ' ἐκκλησιαζέσθαι Ἀθηναίων ἀλλὰ τραγοῦδων ἀγωνιζομένων καιρῶν, οἷδ' ἐναντίον τοῦ δήμου ἀλλ' ἐναντίον τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἵν' ἡμῖν συνειδῶσιν οἷον ἀνδρα τιμῶμεν. οὕτω τοίνυν περιφανῶς παράνομα γεγραφώς, 35 παρατιχθεὶς μετὰ Δημοσθένους ἐποίσει τέχνας τοῖς νόμοις· ὥς ἐγὼ δηλώσω καὶ προερῶ ὑμῖν, ἵνα μὴ λάθητε ἐξαπατηθέντες. οἷτοι γάρ, ὥς μὲν οὐκ ἀπαγορεύουσιν οἱ νόμοι τὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου στεφανοῦμε-

νον μὴ κηρύττειν ἔξω τῆς ἐκκλησίας, οἷχ' ἔξουσι
 λέγειν. ὥσπουσι δὲ εἰς τὴν ἀπολογία τὴν Διοιτυσια-
 κὴν νόμον, καὶ χρῶνται τοῦ νόμου μὲν τιτὶ κλέ-
 36 πτοῖτες τὴν ἀσπίδα ἡμῶν, καὶ παρὶξοῖται νόμον
 οἷον προσήκοντα τῇδε τῇ γραφῇ, καὶ λέγει οὕτως
 εἰς τὴν πόλιν δύο νόμοι κεῖμενοι περὶ τῶν κηρυγ-
 μάτων, εἰς μὲν ὅν ἡν ἐγὼ παρίχομαι ἐπαρρησίαν
 ἀπαγορεύων τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ δήμου στεφανώματα μὴ
 κηρύττεσθαι ἔξω τῆς ἐκκλησίας. ἕτερον δ' εἶναι
 νόμον φησὶν ἐναντίον τούτῳ, τὸν δεδιόκῃ
 ἐξουσίαν ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἀνάρρησιν τοῦ στεφάνου
 τραγῳδίας ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, ἐάν ψηφίσῃται ὁ ὄχλος·
 κατὰ δὲ τοῦτον τὸν νόμον φησὶν γεγραφεῖναι τὴν
 37 Κτητιφάται. ἐγὼ δὲ πρὸς τὰς τοῦτον τέχνας
 παρίχομαι ἀντιρρήσας τοὺς νόμους τοῖς ἡμετέ-
 ροις, ὑπερδεδιδόσπονδ' ἔχων παρὰ πόλιν τὴν
 κατηγορίαν. εἰ γὰρ τοῦτο ἐστὶν ἀληθὲς καὶ τοιοῦτον
 ἔθος παραβέβαιον ἡμῶν εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν, ὅτι
 ἀκίρως νόμους ἐν ταῖς κυρίαις ἀναγεγραμμένους καὶ
 δύο περὶ μὲν πρῶτος ὑπεσαντίους ἀλλήλοισι. τι
 ἂν ἔτι ταῦτα εἶποι τις εἶναι τὴν πολιτείαν, ἐν ᾗ
 ταῦτα προστεταγμένα οἱ νόμοι ποιεῖν καὶ μὴ ποιεῖν;
 38 ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔχει ταῦθ' οὕτως· μήθ' ἡμῶς ποτε εἰς
 τοσαύτην ἀταξίαν τῶν νόμων προβαίητε, ὥστε
 ἡμιλεῖται περὶ τῶν τοιούτων τῷ νομοθέτῃ τῷ τῇ
 δημοκρατίᾳ καταστήσασθαι, ἀλλὰ διαρρήσῃν προσ-
 τέτακται τοῖς θεσμοθέταις καθ' ἑκάστην ἐναντίαν
 διορθοῦν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ τοὺς νόμους, ἀκριβῶς δεξι-
 σάστας καὶ σκεψάμενους εἰ τις ἀναγεγραπται νόμος
 ἐναντίος ἐτέρῳ νόμῳ ἢ ἀκίρως ἐν ταῖς κυρίαις, ἢ εἰ

ποὶ εἰσι νόμοι πλείους ἐνὸς ἀναγεγραμμένοι περὶ
 ἐκάστης πράξεως. καὶ τι τοιοῦτον εὐρίσκωσιν, ἀνα- 39
 γεγραφέας ἐν σαφὲτιν ἐκτιθέναι κελεύει πρόσθεν
 τῶν ἐπώνιμων, τοὺς δὲ πρυτάνεις ποιεῖν ἐκκλησίαν
 ἐπιγυρῶντας "νομοθέταις," τὴν δ' ἐπιστάτην τῶν
 προὔρων διαχειροτορίαν δίδοιαι τῷ δήμῳ, καὶ τοὺς
 μὲν ἀναιρῶν τῶν νόμων τοὺς δὲ καταλείπειν, ὥπως
 ἂν εἰς ἡ νόμος καὶ μὴ πλείους περὶ ἐκάστης πράξεως.
 Καὶ μοι λέγε τοὺς νόμους.

NOMOI.

Εἰ τοίνυν, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀληθὲς ἦν ὁ παρὰ τοί- 40
 των λόγος καὶ ἦσαν δύο κεῖμενοι νόμοι περὶ τῶν
 κηρυγμάτων, ἐξ ἀνάγκης εἶμαι τῶν μὲν θεσμο-
 θετῶν ἐξουσίαν τῶν δὲ πρυτάνεων ἀποδόντων τοῖς
 νομοθέταις ἀντιρρῆτ' ἂν ὁ ἕτερος τῶν νόμων, ἦτοι ὁ
 τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἐξελκὼς ἀναιρῶν ἢ ὁ ἀπαγορεύων·
 ὅπως δὲ μὲν τοῦτων γεγένηται, φανερώς δὲ που
 ἐξελέγχονται οὐ μόνον ψευδῇ λέγοντες ἀλλὰ καὶ
 πατελῶς δόξατα γεινέσθαι. ὅθεν δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ ψεῦ- 41
 δος τοῦτο ἐπιφέρουσιν, ἐγὼ δεῖξω ἡμᾶς προειπὼν
 ἐν ἑτέροις οἱ νόμοι ἐτίθησαν οἱ περὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ
 κηρυγμάτων. γεγραμμένων γὰρ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ τραγῳ-
 δῶν ἀντιρρητικῶν, οἱ πείσασθε τὸν δήμον, οἱ μὲν
 ὅτι στεφανώγεται ὑπὸ τῶν φυλετῶν, ἕτεροι δ' ὑπὸ
 τῶν δημοτῶν. ἀλλὰ δὲ τινες ὑποκηρυξάμενοι τοῖς
 αὐτῶν οἰκίας ἀφίσταν ἐλευθέρους, μάρτυρας [τῆς
 ἀπελευθερίας] τοῖς Ἑλληνας ποιοῦμενοι, ὁ δ' ἦν 42
 ἐπιφθονώτατος, προξενίας τινὲς εἰρημέροι ἐν ταῖς
 ἔξω πόλεσι διεπράττοντο ἀναγορεύεσθαι ὅτι στεφα-

νοῖ αὐτοῖς ὁ δῆμος, εἰ οὕτω τίχοι, ὁ τῶν Ῥοδίων ἢ
 Χίων ἢ καὶ ἄλλης τινὸς πόλεως ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ
 ἀνδραγαθίας. καὶ ταῖτ' ἐπραττον οὐχ ὥσπερ αἱ
 ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς τῆς ἡμετέρας στεφανούμενοι ἢ ὑπὸ
 τοῦ δήμου, πείσαντες ἡμᾶς καὶ μετὰ ψηφίσματος,
 πολλὴν χάριν καταθέμενοι, ἀλλ' αἱτοὶ προσελόμενοι
 43 ἄνευ δόγματος ἡμετέρου. ἐκ δὲ τούτου τοῦ τρόπου
 συνέβαινε τοῖς μὲν θιατὰς καὶ τοῖς χορηγοῦς καὶ
 τοῖς ἀγωνιστὰς ἐνοχλεῖσθαι, τοῖς δὲ ἀνακηρυττο-
 μένους ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ μείζον τιμᾶσθαι τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ
 δήμου στεφανουμένων. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἀπειδέεικτο
 τόπος ἢ ἐκκλησία, ἐν ἧ ἤδη χρῆν στεφανοῦσθαι, καὶ
 ἀπείρητο ἄλλοθι μηδαμοῦ κηρυττεσθαι· οἱ δὲ ἀνηγο-
 ρεῖοντο ἐνώπιον πάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων· καὶ οὕτως
 44 ἄνευ ψηφίσματος. συνιδὼν δὲ τις ταῦτα νομοθέτης
 τίθησι νόμον οἷδεν ἐπικοινωνοῦντα τῷ περὶ τῶν ὑπὸ
 τοῦ δήμου στεφανουμένων νόμῳ, ὅτε λίσας ἐκείνων
 (οἷδεν γὰρ ἢ ἐκκλησία ἢ ἐνοχλεῖτο ἀλλὰ τὸ θεῖον·
 οὐτ' ἐναντίον τοῖς πρότερον κείμενοις νόμοις τίθεις
 (οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν), ἀλλὰ περὶ τῶν ἄνευ ψηφίσματος
 ἡμετέρου στεφανουμένων ὑπὸ τῶν φυλετῶν καὶ δη-
 μοτῶν καὶ περὶ τῶν τοῖς οἰκέτας ἀπελευθεροῦντων
 καὶ περὶ τῶν ξενικῶν στεφάνων, καὶ διαρρήδην ἀπα-
 γορεύει μὴτ' οἰκέτην ἀπελευθεροῦν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ
 μὴτ' ὑπὸ τῶν φυλετῶν ἢ δημοτῶν ἀναγορεύεσθαι
 στεφανούμενον, μὴτ' ὑπ' ἄλλου (φησὶ) μηδεὶς, ἢ
 45 ἄτιμον εἶναι τὸν κήρυκα. ὅταν οὖν ἀποδείξῃ τοῖς
 μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς στεφανουμένοις εἰς τὸ βουλευ-
 τήριον ἀναρρηθῆναι, τοῖς δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου στιφα-

νουμένοις εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, τοῖς δ' ὑπὸ τῶν δημο-
 τῶν στεφανουμένοις καὶ φυλετῶν ἀπείπη μὴ κηρύτ-
 τεσθαι τοῖς τραγωδοῖς, ἵνα μηδεὶς ἐρανίζων στε-
 φάνους καὶ κηρύγματα ψευδῇ φιλοτιμίαν κτᾶται.
 προσαπείπη δὲ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ μὴδ' ὑπὸ ἄλλου μηδεὶος
 ἀνακηρυττεσθαι, ἀποδείξῃ βουλῆς καὶ δήμου καὶ φυ-
 λετῶν καὶ δημοτῶν, — ὅταν δὲ τις ταῦτα ἀφελῇ, τί
 τὸ καταλείπμεν ἐστὶ πλέον οἱ ξενικοὶ στέφανοι;
 Ὅτι δ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, μέγα σημῖον ἡμῖν τοῦτου ἐξ 46
 αὐτῶν τῶν νόμων ἐπιδείξω. αὐτὸν γὰρ τὸν χρυσοῦν
 στέφανον, ὅς ἐστι ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ τῷ ἐν ἄστει ἀναρ-
 ρηθῇ, ἱερὸν εἶναι τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς κελεύει ὁ νόμος,
 ἀφελόμενος τὸν στεφανούμενον. καίτοι τίς ἂν ἡμῶν
 τόλμήσειε τοσαύτην ἀνελευθερίαν καταγρῶναι τοῦ
 δήμου τῶν Ἀθηναίων; μὴ γὰρ ὅτι πόλις, ἀλλ' οἷδ'
 ἂν ἰδιώτης οἷδε εἰς οὕτως ἀγνῆς γένοιτο, ὥστε ὅν
 αὐτὸς ἔδωκε στέφανον ἅμα ἀνακηρύττειν καὶ ἀφαι-
 ρεῖσθαι καὶ καθιεροῦν. ἀλλ', οἶμαι, διὰ τὸ ξενικὸν
 εἶναι τὸν στέφανον καὶ ἢ καθιέρωσις γίνεται, ἵνα
 μηδεὶς ἀλλοτρίαν εἴνοιαν περὶ πλείονος ποιούμενος
 τῆς πατρίδος χείρων γένηται τὴν ψυχὴν. ἀλλ' οὐκ 47
 ἐκείνων τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ στέφανον ἀναρρηθέντα
 οἷδεις καθαροῖ, ἀλλ' ἔστιν κεκτῆσθαι, ἵνα μὴ μένον
 αὐτὸς ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ ἐξ ἐκείνου, ἔχοντες ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ τὸ
 ὑπόμνημα, μηδέποτε κακοὶ τὴν ψυχὴν εἰς τὸν δῆμον
 γένηται. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο προσέθηκεν ὁ νομοθέτης
 μὴ κηρύττεσθαι τὸν ἀλλότριον στέφανον ἐν τῷ
 θεάτρῳ, εἰ μὴ ψηφίσῃται ὁ δῆμος, ἢ ἢ πόλις ἢ
 βουλομένη τινὰ τῶν ἡμετέρων στεφανοῦν πρέσβεις
 πέμψασα ἐληθῇ τοῦ δήμου, ἵνα κηρυττόμενος μείζω

χάριν εἰδὴ τῶν στεφανούτων ὑμῶν, ἔτι καὶ ξαι
ἐπετρέψατε. Ὅτι δ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, τῶν νόμων αὐτῶν
ἀκούσατε.

NOMOI.

- 43 Ἐπειδὴ τοῖον ἐκπαύοντες ὑμᾶς λέγωτιν ὡς
προσγέγραπται ἐν τῷ νόμῳ ἐξῆναι στεφανούτους. εἰ
ψηφίσηται ὁ δῆμος. ἀπομανημονεύετε αὐτοὺς ὑπο-
βάλλειν· καί, εἰ γὰρ σέ τις ἄλλη πόλις στεφανού-
ει δὲ ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων, ἀποδίδωσκαὶ σοι τῶπος
ὑποὺν ἐπὶ τοῦτο γινέσθαι. ἀπεύρηται σοι ὕψος τῆς
ἐκκλησίας μὴ κηρύττεισθαι. τὸ γὰρ “ἀλλὰ δὲ
μῆσαμοδ’” ὅ τι ἔστιν ἄδην τὴν ἡμέραν λέγε· σὲ γὰρ
ἀποδείξεις ὡς ὄνομα γέγραπται.
- 49 Ἔστι δὲ ὑποδοιπὸν μοι μέρος τῆς κατηγορίας,
ἐξ ᾧ μάλιστα स्पῆνδξω· τούτο δὲ ἔστιν ἡ προ-
φασις εἰ ἢ αὐτῶν δέξιαι στεφανούσθαι. λέγει γὰρ
οὕτως ἐν τῷ ψήφισματι, “καὶ τὴν κήρυκα ἀναγι-
ρῆναι ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ πρὸς τοὺς Ἑλλήνας ὅτι στεφα-
νοὶ αὐτῶν ὁ δῆμος ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀρετῆς ἔσται
καὶ ἀνδραγαθίας” καὶ τὸ μεμνησθαι “ὅτι διηγεῖται
50 γὰρ καὶ πρῶτον τὸ ἄριστα τῷ δήμῳ.” ἀπλῶς ἐπὶ
παντί πασιν ὁ αὐτὸ ταῦτα ἡμῶν λόγους γίγνεται, καὶ
ὑμῶν ἀκούσασι κρῖναι εἰρωθῆς· ὅτι γὰρ εἴ ποτε τῶν
μὲν κατηγορούντων ἡμεῶν τοῦτ’ ἡμῶν ἐπιδοκίμῃται, ὡς
εἰσιν αἱ κατὰ Δημοσθένους ἐπαινοὶ ψευδῆς· καὶ ὡς
οὐτ’ ἔργατο λεγὲν τὰ μέγιστα αὐτῶν οὐκ ἀντιλε-
πρῶτον τὰ συμφέροντα τῷ δήμῳ. πῶν ταῦτ’ ἐπι-
είξω, ὁσούτως ὅτι πῶν τὴν γραφὴν ἠδυνάσκειται Κτησι-
φῶν· ἀπαντες γὰρ ἀπαγορεύουσιν αὐτῷ μοι μέγιστα

ψευδῆ γράμματα ἐγγράφειν ἐν τοῖς δημοσίοις ψη-
φίσμασι. τῷ δ’ ἀπολογουμένῳ τοῖναντίον τοῦτου
δικαιότερον ἔστιν. ὑμεῖς δ’ ἡμῶν ἔσεσθε τῶν λόγων
κριταί. ἔχει δ’ οὕτως.

Ἐγὼ τὸν μὲν βίον τὸν Δημοσθένους ἐξετάξω 51
μακροτέρου λόγου ἔργον ἰχοῦμαι εἶναι. τί γὰρ δεῖ
ἡν ταῦτα λέγειν, ἢ τὰ περὶ τὴν τοῦ τραύματος γρα-
φὴν αὐτῷ συμβεβηκέντα, ὅτ’ ἐγράψατο εἰς Ἀρείου
πάγον Δημοσθέλην τὸν Παιανίδα ἀνεψίον ἄντα ἑαυτῷ,
καὶ τὴν τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐπιτομήν· ἢ τὰ περὶ τὴν Κη-
μισοδότου στρατηγίαν καὶ τὴν τῶν νεῶν ἑκπλοὺν
52 εἰ τὸν εἰς Ἑλλήσποντον, ὅτε εἰς ὧν τῶν τριηράρχων 52
Δημοσθένης καὶ περιήγων τὸν στρατηγὸν ἐπὶ τῆς
νῆος καὶ συσσιτῶν καὶ συνθίων καὶ συσπένδων, καὶ
τοῦτων ἀξιωθείς ἐπὶ τὸ πατρικὸς αὐτῷ φίλος εἶναι,
οἷε ἄκνησεν ἀπ’ εἰσαγγελίας αὐτοῦ κρινομένου περὶ
βανάτου κατηγοροῦς γενέσθαι· καὶ ταῦτα ἴδῃ τὰ περὶ
Μειδίου καὶ τοῖς κοινέλλους οἷε ἔλαβεν ἐν τῇ ὀρχή-
στῃ χορηγίᾳ ἄν, καὶ ὡς ἀπέδοτο τριάκοντα μνῶν
ἡμᾶ τὴν τε εἰς αὐτῶν ἔβριον καὶ τὴν τοῦ δήμου κατα-
χειροτομίαν, ἢ ἐν Διοτίσῳ κατεχειροτόνησε Μει-
δίῳ. ταῦτα μὲν οἶν μοι δοκῶ καὶ τὰλλα τὰ τοιούτοις 53
ἔκδομα ὑπερβήσεσθαι. οὐ προδίδους ἡμᾶς οἷδε τὴν
ἀγῶνα καταχαρίζμενος, ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖνο φοβούμενος μὴ
μοι παρ’ ὑμῶν ἀπαντήσῃ τὸ δοκεῖν μὲν ἀληθῆ
λέγειν, ἀρχαῖα δὲ καὶ λίαν ὁμολογούμενα. καίτοι ὁ
Κτησιφῶν, ἔγωγε τὰ μέγιστα τῶν αἰσχυρῶν οὕτως
δοτὶ πιστὰ καὶ γνήρια τοῖς ἀκούουσιν, ὥστε τὸν
κατήγορον μὴ δοκεῖν ψευδῆ λέγειν ἀλλὰ παλαιὰ καὶ
λίαν προσηγορούμενα, πότῃ αὐτὸν εἰ χρυσῷ στε-

φάνω στεφανωθῆναι ἢ ψέγεσθαι; καὶ σὲ τὸν ψευδῇ
καὶ παράνομα τολμῶντα γράφειν πότερα χρὴ κατα-
φρονεῖν τῶν δικαστηρίων ἢ δίκην τῇ πόλει διδόναι;
51 Περὶ δὲ τῶν δημοσίων ἀδικημάτων πειράσομαι σα-
φέστερον εἰπεῖν. καὶ γὰρ πυνθάνομαι μέλλειν Δη-
μοσθένην, ἐπειδὴν αὐτοῖς ὁ λόγος ἀποδοθῇ, κατα-
ριθμείσθαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὡς ἄρα τῇ πόλει τέτταρες ἤδη
γεγένηνται καιροὶ ἐν αἷς αὐτὸς πεπολίτευται. ἂν
ἓνα μὲν καὶ πρῶτον, ὡς ἔγωγε ἀκοίω, καταλογίζεται
ἐκείνου τὸν χρόνον ἐν ᾧ πρὸς Φίλιππον ὑπὲρ Ἀμ-
φιπόλεως ἐπολεμοῦμεν· τοῦτον δ' ἀφορίζεται τῇ
γενομένη εἰρήνῃ καὶ συμμαχίᾳ, ἣν Φιλοκράτης ὁ
Ἀγνοΐσιος ἔγραψε καὶ αὐτὸς οὗτος μετ' ἐκείνου, ὡς
55 ἐγὼ δείξω. δεύτερον δὲ φησι γενέσθαι ὃν ἤγομεν
χρόνον τὴν εἰρήνην, δηλοῦσι μὲχρι τῆς ἡμέρας
ἐκείνης ἐν ᾗ καταλίσας τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν εἰρήνην τῇ
πόλει ὁ αὐτὸς οὗτος ῥήτωρ ἔγραψε τὸν πόλεμον·
τρίτον δὲ ὃν ἐπολεμοῦμεν χρόνον μὲχρι τῆς ἀτυχίας
τῆς ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ, τέταρτον δὲ τὸν νῦν παρὶντα
καιρὸν. ταῦτα δὲ καταριθμώμενος, ὡς ἀκοίω,
μέλλει με παρακαλεῖν καὶ ἐπερωτᾶν ὁποῖον τοιῶν
τῶν τεττάρων αὐτοῦ καιρῶν κατηγορῶ καὶ πότε αἰ-
τὴν οὐ τὰ βέλτιστά φημι τῷ δήμῳ πεπολιτεῖσθαι·
κἂν μὴ θέλω ἀποκρίνασθαι ἀλλ' ἐγκαλίπτωμαι καὶ
ἀποδιδράσκω, ἐκκαλύψει μὲ φησι προσελθὼν καὶ
ἄξειν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα καὶ ἀναγκάσειν ἀποκρίνασθαι.
56 ἢν' οὖν μήθ' οὗτος ἰσχυρίζεται ὑμῶς τε προειδῆτε,
ἐγὼ ἀποκρίνομαι ἐναντίον σοι τῶν δικαστῶν Δημό-
σθενες καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν ὅσοι δὴ ἔξωθεν περι-
εστᾶσι καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὅσοις ἐπιμελὲς γέγονεν

ἐπακοίειν τῇσδε τῆς κρίσεως (ὁρῶ δὲ οὐκ ἱλίγους
παρόντας, ἀλλ' ὅσους οὐδεὶς πώποτε μέμνηται πρὸς
ἀγῶνα δημοσίων παραγενομένους)—ἀποκρίνομαι ὅτι
ἀπάντων τῶν τεττάρων καιρῶν κατηγορῶ σου, οὓς
σύ διαιρῇ, κἂν οἱ τε θεοὶ θέλωσι καὶ οἱ δικασταὶ ἐξ 57
ἴσου ἡμῶν ἀκούσωσι καὶ γὰρ εὐνῶμαι ἀπομνημονεῦσαι
ἃ σοι σύννοια, πάνυ προσδοκῶ ἐπιδείξειν τοῖς δι-
κασταῖς τῆς μὲν σωτηρίας τῇ πόλει τοῖς θεοῖς
αἰτίους γεγενημένους καὶ τοῖς φιλανθρώπως καὶ
μετρίως τοῖς τῆς πόλεως πράγμασι χρησαμένους,
τῶν δὲ ἀτυχημάτων ἀπάντων Δημοσθένην [αἴτιον
γεγενημένον] καὶ χρῆσθαι τῇ τοῦ λόγου τάξει
ταύτῃ ἣν τοῦτον πυνθάνομαι ποιῆσθαι μέλλειν,
λίξω δὲ πρῶτον περὶ τοῦ πρώτου καιροῦ καὶ δεύτερον
περὶ τοῦ δευτέρου καὶ τρίτον περὶ τοῦ ἐφεξῆς καὶ
τέταρτον περὶ τῶν νῦν καθεστηκότων πραγμάτων.
καὶ δὴ ἐπανάγω ἑμαυτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν εἰρήνην, ἣν σύ καὶ
Φιλοκράτης ἔγραψατε.

Ὑμῖν γὰρ ἐξεγίγνεται ἂν, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, τὴν προτέ- 58
ραν ἐκείνην εἰρήνην ποιήσασθαι μετὰ κοινοῦ συνε-
δρίου τῶν Ἑλλήνων, εἴ τινας ὑμᾶς εἶσαν περι-
μεῖναι τὰς πρεσβείας ὥς ἦτε ἐκπεπομφότες κατ'
ἐκείνον τὸν καιρὸν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, παρακαλοῦντες
ἐπὶ Φίλιππον,—μετασχεῖν Ἑλληνικοῦ συνεδρίου
καὶ προΐοιτος τοῦ χρόνου παρ' ἐκείνων τῶν Ἑλ-
λήνων ἀπολαβεῖν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν· καὶ τοιῶν ἀπε-
στερήθητε διὰ Δημοσθένην καὶ Φιλοκράτην καὶ τὰς
τοιῶν δωροδοκίας, ὥς ἐδωροδόκησαν συστάντες ἐπὶ
τὸ δημόσιον τὸ ὑμέτερον· εἰ δὲ τισιν ὑμῶν ἐξαίφνης 59
ἀκούσασιν ἀπιστότερος προσπέπτωκεν ὁ τοιοῦτος

λόγος, ἐκείνως τὴν ὑπόλοιπον ποιήσασθε ἀκρίβειαν.
 ὥσπερ ἔσαν περὶ χρημάτων ἀνηλωμένων διὰ πολλοῦ
 χρόνου καθεξίμεθα ἐπὶ τοῖς λογισμοῖς. ἔρχ' ἔμεθα
 δὴ πον ψευδὲς οἰκοῦν ἐνίοτε δόξας ἔχοντες κατὰ
 τῶν λογισμῶν. ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐπειδὴν ὁ λογισμὸς συγ-
 κεφαλαιωθῇ, οἰδὲν ἡμῶν ἔστιν οὔτω δι' σκολος τῶν
 φύσιν, ὅστις οὐκ ἀπέρχεται τοῖς ἱμολογήσας καὶ
 ἐπινεύσας ἀληθὲς εἶναι ὅ τι ἂν αὐτὸς ὁ λογισμὸς
 60 αἴρῃ. οὕτω καὶ ἡμῶν τὴν ἀκρίβειαν ποιήσασθε, εἰ
 τινες ἡμῶν ἐκ τῶν ἑμπροσθεν χρόνων ἤκουσιν οἰκοῦν
 τοιαύτην ἔχοντες τὴν δόξαν, ὥς ἄρα ὁ Δημοσθένης
 οἶδεν πόποτε εἶρηκεν ὑπὲρ Φιλίππου συστὴς μετὰ
 Φιλοκρίτους, — ὅστις οὔτω διαίκεται, μήτ' ἀποστρέψω
 μηδὲν μήτε καταγράψω πρὶν ὅν ἀκησῇ, σὲ γὰρ
 δίκαιον, ἀλλ' ἐάν ἡμῶν εἰς βραχέων ἀκούσῃτε
 ὑπομιμνήσκοντες τοῖς καιροῖς καὶ τὸ ψήφισμα
 παρεχόμενον ὁ μετὰ Φιλοκρίτους ἔγραψε Δημο-
 σθένης, εἰν αὐτὸς ὁ τῆς ἀληθείας λογισμὸς ἐγκατα-
 λαμβάνῃ τὸν Δημοσθένην πλείω μὲν γεγραφέα
 ψηφίσματα Φιλοκρίτους περὶ τῆς ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἰρήνης
 61 καὶ συμμαχίας, καθ' ὑπερβολὴν δὲ αἰσχροῦς κεκα-
 λαυκέναι Φιλίππον καὶ τοὺς παρ' ἐκείνου πρίσβεις,
 αἵτιον δὲ γεγονέναι τῷ δήμῳ τὰ μὴ μετὰ κοινοῦ
 συνδίκου τῶν Ἑλλήνων ποιήσασθαι τὴν εἰρήνην,
 ἐκείνου δὲ [Φιλίππου] πεποιηκέναι Κερσοβλεπτήν τὴν
 Θρήνης βασιλείαν, ἀδρα φιλῶν καὶ συμμαχῶν τῇ
 πέλει, — εἰν ταῦτ' ἡμῶν σιφῶς ἐπιδείξω, δοῦντομαι
 ἡμῶν μετρίαν εἶναι ἐπινεύσατέ μοι πρὸς θεῶν τῶν
 πρώτων τῶν τεττάρων καιρῶν μὴ καλῶς αὐτῶν πεπο-
 λιτισθαι. λέξω δὲ ὅθεν μάλιστα παρακαλουθήσεται.

Ἐγραψε Φιλοκράτης ἐξίνα Φιλίππῳ δεῖρο 62
 κήρυκα καὶ πρίσβεις πέμπειν περὶ εἰρήνης· τοῦτο
 τὸ ψήφισμα ἐγράφη παρανόμων. ἤκουσιν οἱ τῆς κρί-
 σεως χρεῖται· κατηγέρει μὲν Λυκῆος ὁ γραψάμενος,
 ἐπελογείτο δὲ Φιλοκράτης, συναπελογείτο δὲ καὶ
 Δημοσθένης· ἀπέφυγε Φιλοκράτης. μετὰ ταῦτα
 ἔστην χρεῖτος Θημιστοκλῆς ἀρχων· ἐνταῦθ' εἰσέρ-
 χεται βασιλεὺς εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον Δημοσθένης,
 ὅτε λαχὼν αὐτ' ἐπιλαχὼν, ἀλλ' ἐκ παρισκευῆς
 πρῶτος, ὡς εἰς ὑποσχὼν ἄπαιτα καὶ λέγει καὶ
 πρῶτοι Φιλοκρίται, ὥς αὐτὸ ἔδειξε τὸ ἔργον. 63
 γὰρ ἕτερον ψήφισμα Φιλοκρίτης, ἐν ᾧ κελεῖται ἐλέ-
 σθαι ἑκα πρίσβεις, οἵτινες ἀφικέμεναι πρὸς Φίλιπ-
 πον ἀξιόσπουτοι αὐτῶν εἶναι πρίσβεις αὐτοκρά-
 τας πέμπειν ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης. τοῦτων εἰς ἡμ
 Δημοσθένης. κακῶθεν ἐπαυήκων ἐπαιρέτης ἡμ τῆς
 εἰρήνης, καὶ ταῦτά τοῖς ἄλλοις πρίσβεσιν ἀπὶ γ-
 γίλλει, καὶ μόνως τῶν ἄλλων βασιλευτῶν ἔγραψε
 σπείσασθαι τῷ κήρυκι τῷ ἀπὸ τοῦ Φιλίππου καὶ
 τοῖς πρίσβεσιν, ἀκόλουθα γράφων Φιλοκρίται· ὁ
 μὲν γε τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἔσπεκε τοῦ δεῖρο κήρυκα καὶ
 πρίσβεις πέμπεσθαι, ὁ δὲ τῇ πρεσβείᾳ σπένδεται.
 τὰ δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἦδη μοι σφέδρα προσέχετε τῶν 64
 τοῦν. ἐπρώττετο γὰρ αὐ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις πρίσβεσι
 ταῖς πολλὰν συκοφαντήθειας ἕτερον ἐκ μετα-
 βολῆς ὑπὸ Δημοσθένους, ἀλλὰ πρὸς Φιλοκρίτην
 καὶ Δημοσθένην (εἰκότως· τοῖς ἄρα μὲν πρεσβεύ-
 οντας, ἄρα δὲ τὰ ψηφίσματα γράφοντας), πρῶτον
 μὲν ὅπως μὴ περιμενῇτε τοῖς πρίσβεσι οὓς ἦτε
 ἐκπεπομφότες παρακαλοῦντες ἐπὶ Φιλίππον, ἵνα

μὴ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ἀλλ' ἰδίᾳ ποιήσησθε εἰς
 65 τὴν εἰρήνην· δεῦτερον δ' ὅπως μὴ μόνον τὴν εἰρήνην
 ἀλλὰ καὶ συμμαχίαν εἶναι ψηφιεῖσθε πρὸς Φίλιπ-
 πον, ἵν' εἴ τις προσέχοιεν τῷ πλήθει τῷ ὑμετέρῳ,
 εἰς τὴν ἐσχάτην ἐμπέσοιεν ἀθυμίαν ἔρῶντες ἡμᾶς
 αὐτοὺς μὲν παρακαλοῦντας ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον, οἱκοί
 τε μὴ μόνον εἰρήνην ἀλλὰ καὶ συμμαχίαν ἐψη-
 φισμένους ποιεῖσθαι· τρίτον δὲ ὅπως Κερσυβλέπτης
 ὁ Θράκης βασιλεὺς μὴ ἔσται ἑνορκος, μηδὲ μετέ-
 σται τῆς συμμαχίας καὶ τῆς εἰρήνης αὐτῷ. παρηγ-
 66 γέλλετο δ' ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἡδὴ στρατεία. καὶ ταῖθ' ὁ
 μὲν ἐξωνοίμενος οὐκ ἠδίκη (πρὸ γὰρ τῶν ὅρκων καὶ
 τῶν συνθηκῶν ἀνέμειστον ἦν αὐτῷ πράττειν τὸ
 συμφέροντα). οἱ δ' ἀποδόμενοι καὶ κατακοινωνή-
 σαντες τὰ τῆς πόλεως ἰσχυρὰ μεγάλης ἐργῆς ἦσαν
 ἄξιοι. ὁ γὰρ μισαλέξανδρος νυνὶ φάσκων εἶναι καὶ
 τότε μισοφίλιππος Δημοσθένης, ὁ τὴν ξενίαν ἐμοὶ
 προσφέρων τὴν Ἀλεξανδρῶν, γράφει ψήφισμα, τοῖς
 67 καιροῖς τῆς πόλεως ὑφαιρούμενος, ἐκκλησίαν ποιεῖν
 τοῖς πρυτάνεις τῇ ἐγχείρῃ ἱσταμένου τοῦ εὐλαφη-
 βολιῶτος μηνίς, ὅτ' ἦν τῷ Ἀσκληπιῷ ἡ θυσία καὶ
 ὁ προάγειν, ἐν τῇ ἱερᾷ ἡμέρᾳ, ὁ πρότερον οὐδεὶς
 μέμνηται γενόμενον, τίνα πρόφασιν ποιησάμενος;
 ἵνα, φησὶν, εἰάν ἴδῃ παρῶσιν οἱ τοῦ Φιλίππου πρέσ-
 βεις, βουλευσῇται ὁ δῆμος ὡς τάχιστα περὶ τῶν
 πρὸς Φίλιππον, τοῖς οἵπῳ παροῦσι πρέσβεσι προ-
 καταλαμβάνων τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ τοὺς χρόνους
 ἡμῶν ὑποτεμνόμενος καὶ τὸ πρῶγμα κατασπεύδων,
 ἵνα μὴ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ἐπανελθόντων
 τῶν ὑμετέρων πρέσβεων ἀλλὰ μόνοι ποιήσησθε τὴν

εἰρήνην. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἤκου οἱ τοῦ 68
 Φιλίππου πρέσβεις· οἱ δὲ ὑμέτεροι ἀπεδήμουν
 παρακαλοῦντες τοῖς Ἑλληνας ἐπὶ Φίλιππον. ἐν-
 ταῖθ' ἕτερον ψήφισμα νικᾷ Δημοσθένης, ἐν ᾧ γρά-
 φει μὴ μόνον ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης ἀλλὰ καὶ συμμαχίας
 ἡμᾶς βουλευσασθαι, μὴ περιμεύαντας τοὺς πρέσ-
 βεις τοὺς ὑμετέρους ἀλλ' εὐθὺς μετὰ τὰ Διοῖσια
 τὰ ἐν ἄστει, τῇ ὁγδόῃ καὶ ἐνάτῃ ἐπὶ δέκα. Ὅτι δ'
 ἀληθὴ λέγω, ἀκούσατε τῶν ψηφισμάτων.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ.

Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, παρεληλίθει τὰ 69
 Διοῖσια, ἐγίγνοντο δὲ αἱ ἐκκλησίαι, ἐν δὲ τῇ προ-
 τέρᾳ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἀνεγνώσθη δόγμα κοινὸν τῶν
 συμμάχων,—ὅς τὰ κεφάλαια διὰ βραχέων ἐγὼ
 προσεῶ. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἔγραψαν ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης
 ἡμᾶς μόνον βουλευσασθαι, τὸ δὲ τῆς συμμαχίας
 ὄνομα ὑπερέβησαν, οὐκ ἐπιλελησμένοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 τὴν εἰρήνην ἀναγκαιοτέραν ἢ καλλίω ὑπολαμβάνον-
 τες εἶναι· ἔπειτα ἀπῆντησαν ὀρθῶς ἰασόμενοι τὸ
 Δημοσθένους δωροδόκημα, καὶ προσέγραψαν ἐν τῷ 70
 ὅσμηματι ἐξεῖναι τῷ βουλομένῳ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐν
 τρισὶ μηνσὶν εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν στήλην ἀναγεγράφθαι
 μετ' Ἀθηναίων καὶ μετέχειν τῶν ὅρκων καὶ τῶν
 συνθηκῶν, εἰς μέγιστα προκαταλαμβάνοντες. πρῶ-
 τον μὲν τὸν χρόνον τὸν τῆς τριμήνου ταῖς τῶν
 Ἑλλήνων πρεσβεΐαις ἱκανὸν γενέσθαι παρασκευά-
 ζοντες, ἔπειτα τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων εἵνοιαν τῇ πόλει
 μετὰ κοινοῦ συνιδρύου κτώμενοι, ἵν' εἰ παραβαί-
 νοντο αἱ συνθήκαι, μὴ μόνοι μηδ' ἀπαράσκευοι

πολεμήσασθαι, ἃ νῦν ἡμῖν παθεῖν συνέβη διὰ Δημοσθένην. Ὅτι δ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ λόγου ἀκούσαντες μαθήσεσθε.

ΔΟΓΜΑ ΣΥΜΜΑΧΩΝ.

- 71 Τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ συνεπειν ὁμολογῶ, καὶ πάντες οἱ ἐν τῇ προτέρῃ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἐνηγορευόμενοι· καὶ ὁ λόγος ἀπὸ τοῦ τοιαύτην τιὰ δοξάν εἰληφίς, ὥς ἔσται μὲν ἡ εἰρήνη, περὶ δὲ συμμαχίας οὐκ ἄμεινον εἶη διὰ τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων παρὶκλήσιν βουλευσασθαι, ἔσται δὲ κοινὴ μετὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πάντων. ἡ δὲ ἐν μέσῳ, καὶ παρήμην τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. ὁταύθην δὲ προκαταλαβὼν Δημοσθένης τὸ βῆμα, οὐδὲν τῶν ἄλλων παραλιπὼν λόγον, οἷον ὁμοῦς ἔφη τῶν χθὲς εἰρημένων εἶναι καὶ λόγον, εἰ ταῦθ' οἱ Φιλίππου μὴ συμπεσθῆσονται πρέσβεις, οἷον γυμνάσκειν ἔφη τὴν εἰρήνην ἀπαύσης
- 72 συμμαχίας. οὗ γὰρ ἔφη δεῖν (καὶ γὰρ τὸ βῆμα μέμνημαι ὥς εἶπε, διὰ τὴν ἀγδίαν τοῦ λεγόντος ἅμα καὶ τοῦ ἐνέματος) ἀπυρρῆξαι τῆς εἰρήνης τὴν συμμαχίαν, οἷον τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀναμένειν μελλήματα, ἀλλ' ἢ πολεμεῖν αὐτοῖς ἢ τὴν εἰρήνην ἰδίᾳ ποιῆσθαι. καὶ τελευτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα παρακάλῃς Ἀντιπατρὸν ἰρωτῆματ' ἄνωγα, προειπὼν μὲν ἃ ἐρωτᾶται, προειπὼν δὲ ἃ χρὴ κατὰ τῆς πόλεως ἀποκρισάσθαι. καὶ τέλος ταῦτ' ἐνικα, τῷ μὲν λόγῳ προσβιασαμένου Δημοσθένους, τὸ δὲ ψή-
- 73 φισμα γράψαιτος Φιλοκράτους. ὁ δὲ ἦν ὑπάλοισιν αὐτοῖς. Κερσοβλήπτην καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ Θράκης τοπὸν ἐκέρτον ποιῆσαι, καὶ τοῦτ' ἐπραξαι ἕκτη

ἐλθόντος τοῦ λαφροβουλιώτου, πρὶν ἐπὶ τὴν ὑστέραν ἀπαύσαι πρέσβειαν τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς ὄρκους Δημοσθένην· ὁ γὰρ μεταλέξαντος καὶ μισοφίλιππος ἡμῖν αὐτοῖσι βήτωρ εἰς ἐπὶ σβασεν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ, ἐξὸν μὲν ἀπαξ, ὁ νυνὶ καλείων τῶν Μακεδόνων καταπύην. εἰς δὲ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, τὴν τῇ ἕκτῃ λέγω, καθ' ἑμῆτος βουλευτῆς ἂν ἐκ παρασκευῆς, ἕκτον Κερσοβλήπτην μετὰ Φιλοκράτους ἐποίησε. λαβὼν 74 θύει γὰρ ὁ μὲν Φιλοκράτης ἐν ψηφίσματι μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων γραμμάτων παρεγγράψας, ὁ δ' ἐπιψηφίσας Δημοσθένης, [ἐν ᾧ γέγραπται] "ἀποδοῖναι δὲ τοῖς ὄρκους τοῖς πρέσβεσι τοῖς παρὰ Φιλίππου ἐν τῇ τῇ ἐμῇ τοῖς συνέδρους τῶν συμμάχων." παρὰ δὲ Κερσοβλήπτου συνέδρος οὐκ ἐκλήθητο· γράψας δὲ τοῖς συνεδρεύουσιν ἡμῖναι τὸν Κερσοβλήπτην ὑπὸ συνεδρεύοντα ἐξέκλεισε τῶν ὄρκων. Ὅτι δ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, ἀνάγνωθί μοι τίς ἴν' ὁ ταῦτα 75 γράψας καὶ τίς ὁ ταῦτα ἐπιψηφίσας πρέσβης.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ. ΠΡΟΕΔΡΟΣ.

Καλὴν, δ' Ἀθηναῖσι, καλὴν ἢ τῶν δημοσίων γραμμάτων ἐνλακῆ· ἀσέβητος γὰρ ἔστι καὶ οἱ συμμεταπίπτει τοῖς αὐτομολοῖσιν ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ, ἀλλ' ἀπιδόκει τῷ ἑαυτοῦ. ἐπίπταν βούληται, συντελεῖν τοῖς πόλαι μὲν πατριοῖς ἐκ μεταβολῆς δ' ἀξιοῦντας εἶναι χρηστοῖς.

ὑπάλοισιν δὲ μοί ἔστι τὴν κολακίαν αὐτοῖ 76 ἐνέλαβεν. Δημοσθένης γὰρ ἐνιαυτὸν βουλευσας εἰς αὐτὴν πώποτε φανήται πρέσβειαν εἰς προεδρίαν ἐκλίσας, ἀλλὰ τότε μόνον καὶ πρῶτον πρέσβης εἰς

προεδρίαν ἐκάλεσε καὶ προσκεφάλαια ἔθηκε καὶ φοινικίδας περιεπέτασε καὶ ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἡγήετο τοῖς πρέσβεσιν εἰς τὸ θέατρον, ὥστε καὶ συνίττεσθαι διὰ τὴν ἀσχημοσύνην καὶ κολακείαν· καὶ ὅτ' ἀπήεσαν, ἐμισθώσατο αὐτοῖς τρία ζεύγη ἑρῖκᾶ καὶ προὔπεμψεν εἰς Θήβας, καταγέλαστον τὴν πόλιν ποιῶν. Ἴνα δ' ἐπὶ τῆς ὑποθέσεως μείνω, λαβέ μοι τὸ ψήφισμα τὸ περὶ τῆς προεδρίας.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

- 77 Οὔτος τοῦτον, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, ὁ τηλικούτος τὸ μέγεθος κόλαξ πρῶτος διὰ τῶν κατασκέπων τῶν παρὰ Χαριδίμου πυθόμενος τὴν Φιλίππου τελευτὴν τῶν μὲν θεῶν συμπλάσας ἐαυτῷ ἐνύπνιον κατεψεύσατο. ὃς οὐ παρὰ Χαριδίμου τὸ πρῶγμα πεπυσμένος ἀλλὰ παρὶ τοῦ Διὸς καὶ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, οὓς μεθ' ἡμέραν ἐπιτοκῶν νύκτωρ φησὶν ἐαυτῷ διαλέγεσθαι καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα ἴσεσθαι προλέγειν, ἐβδόμην δ' ἡμέραν τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτῷ τετελευτηκυίας, πρὶν περῆσαι καὶ τὰ νομιζόμενα ποιῆσαι, στεφανώσμενος καὶ λευκὴν ἐσθῆτα λαβάν ἐβουθίτει καὶ 78 παρενόμεν, τὴν μένην ὁ δέιλαιος καὶ πρώτην αὐτὴν πατέρα προσειποῦσαν ἀπολέσας. καὶ οὐ τὸ εὐστίχημα ὀνειδίζω, ἀλλὰ τὸν τρόπον ἐξετάζω. ὁ γὰρ μισότεκνος καὶ πατὴρ πονηρὸς οὐκ ἂν ποτε γένοιτο δημαγωγὸς χρηστὸς, οὐδὲ ὁ τὰ φίλτατα καὶ οἰκειότατα σώματα μὴ στέργων οὐδέποθ' ἡμᾶς περὶ πλείονος ποιήσεται τοῖς ἀλλοτρίους, οἳ δέ γε ὁ ἴδιος πονηρὸς οὐκ ἂν γένοιτο δημοσίᾳ χρηστὸς, οὐδ' ὅστις ἐστὶν οἶκος φαῦλος, οἳδέποτ' ἦν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ κατὰ 63

τὴν πρεσβείαν καλὸς κάγαθός· οὐ γὰρ τὸν τρόπον ἀλλὰ τὸν τόπον μόνον μετήλλαξεν.

Πόθεν οὖν ἐπὶ τὴν μεταβολὴν ἦλθε τῶν πραγ- 79 μάτων (οὔτος γάρ ἐστιν ὁ δεύτερος καιρὸς), καὶ τί ποτ' ἐστὶ τὸ αἴτιον ὅτι Φιλοκράτης μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν πολιτευμάτων Δημοσθένει φυγὰς ἀπ' εἰσαγγελίας γεγίνηται, Δημοσθένης δὲ ἐπέστη τῶν ἄλλων κατήγορος. καὶ πόθεν ποθ' ἡμᾶς εἰς τὰς ἀτυχίας ὁ μίαρὸς ἄνθρωπος ἐμβέβληκε, ταῦτ' ἤδη διαφερόντως ἄξιόν ἐστιν ἀκοῦσαι. ὥς γὰρ τάχιστα εἴσω 80 Πυλῶν Φίλιππος παρήλθε καὶ τὰς τε ἐν Φωκεῖσι πόλεις παραδίξως ἀναστάτους ἐποίησε, Θηβαίους δέ, ὥς τόθ' ὑμῖν ἐδόκει, περαιτέρω τοῦ καιροῦ καὶ τοῦ ἡμετέρου συμφέροντος ἰσχυροῖς κατεσκεύασεν, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν φοβηθέντες ἐσκεναγωγήσατε. ἐν ταῖς μεγίσταις δ' ἦσαν αἰτίαις οἱ πρέσβεις οἱ περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης πρεσβεύσαντες, πολὺ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων διαφερόντως Φιλοκράτης καὶ Δημοσθένης διὰ τὸ μὴ μόνον πρεσβεύειν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα γεγραφεῖναι, συνέβη δ' ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς χρόνοις 81 διαφύρεσθαι τι τὴν Δημοσθένην καὶ Φιλοκράτην σχεδὸν ὑπὲρ τούτων ὑπὲρ ὧν καὶ ἡμεῖς αὐτοῖς ὑπωπτεύσατε διανεχθῆναι, —τοιαύτης δὲ ἐμπιπτοῦσης ταραχῆς μετὰ τῶν συμφύτων ἰοσημάτων αὐτῷ ἤδη τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐβουλεύετο, μετὰ δειλίας καὶ τῆς πρὸς Φιλοκράτην ὑπὲρ τῆς δωροδοκίας ζηλοτυπίας, καὶ ἡγήσατο, εἰ τῶν συμπρεσβευόντων καὶ τοῦ Φιλίππου κατήγορος ἀναφανείη, τὸν μὲν Φιλοκράτην προδήλως ἀπολεῖσθαι, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους συμπρέσβεις κινδυνεύσειν, αὐτὸς δ' εὐδοκμήσειν

καὶ προδότης ἂν τῶν φίλων καὶ ποιηρὸς πιστὸς
 82 τῷ δήμῳ φυνήτεσθαι. κατιδόντες δ' αὐτὸν οἱ τῇ
 τῆς πίστεως προσπαλεμοῦντες ἡσυχίᾳ ἄσμετοι παρε-
 κάλειν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα, τὸν μοῖον ἄσφαδοκῆτον ἐναιέ-
 ζοντες τῇ πόλει· ἐδὲ παρὶόν ἀρχὴς αὐτοῖς ἐνέειπον
 πολέμου καὶ ταπεινῆς. οὗτος ἐστὶν, ὃ Ἀθηναῖοι, ὃ
 πρῶτος ἐξήλθεν Σέρριον τείχος καὶ Δορίσκην καὶ
 Ἐργασκην καὶ Μερτιώκην καὶ Γάως καὶ Γανίδα,
 χωρία ὅν εἰς τὰ ὄντοια ἡδέμεν προτέραι. καὶ
 εἰς τοῦτο φέρων περίστησε τὰ πρῶτα, οὗτ' εἰ
 μὲν μὴ πέμπει Φιλίππος πρόσβεις, καταφρονεῖν
 αὐτὸν ἐφ' ἧς πίστεως, εἰ δὲ πέμπει, κατασκοπεῖν
 83 πέμπειν ἄλλ' οὐ πρόσβεις. εἰ δὲ ἐπιτρέπεται ἔλθαι
 τιλεὶ τῷ Ἰσθμῷ καὶ ὁμοίᾳ περὶ τοῦ ἐγκαληώτου, οὐκ
 εἶμι κενὸν ἵσταν ἄλλο ἐφ' ἧς καὶ Φιλίππος. Ἀθηναῖοι
 οὐκ ἔστιν ὅς τις ἀπὸ τῶν μὴ λαμβάνειν, εἰ δὲ ἴσταν
 ἄλλ' μὴ ἀποδέχεται, περὶ συλλαβῶν διαφερόμετος.
 καὶ τὰ τελευτῶν στεφανώσας τοὺς μετὰ Ἀρεστοδ-
 μου εἰς Θεσσαλίαν καὶ Μαγνησίαν παρὰ τῆς τῆς
 εἰρήνης συνέλευσιν ἐπιστρατεύσαντας τὴν μὲν εἰρήνην
 εὐέλπει, τὴν δὲ συμφέρειν καὶ τὴν πόλιν τιρε-
 σκεύειν.

84 Ναὶ, ἀλλὰ χελεύει καὶ ὀψιμαντίνους τείχεσιν,
 ὥς αὐτοὶ ὅσοι τῆς χώρας ἡμῶν ἐτείχισται, τῇ
 τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ Θεσσαλίας σιμαμαχίᾳ, ἀλλ'
 ὃ Ἀθηναῖοι περὶ ταῦτα τῶν μέρων ἐνέειπον
 καὶ μέγιστα ὀφείλουτε. σπύδιον δ' εἶπεν περὶ
 τῆς μεγίστης σιμαμαχίας τῆς τῶν Θεσσαλίων, ἡ
 ἐδὲ ἦν εἶπον περὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πρῶτον μαχη-
 σάμεναι.

Ἵμεῖς γὰρ, ὃ Ἀθηναῖοι, πολλὰ καὶ μεγὰλα ἡδίκη- 85
 μένοι ὑπὸ Μησηρχοῦ τοῦ Χαλκιεῶς, τοῦ Καλλίου
 καὶ Ταυροσθένους πατρὸς, οὓς αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ μισθῷ
 λαβὼν Ἀθηναῖους εἶναι τόλμῃ γράψαν, καὶ πόλιν
 ὑποθεμένους τοῦ Ἐρετριεῶς, ἐς ἡμῶν εἰρήνης
 οἴον· Ἐρωπὴν ἀφείλετο, τούτων ἰκόντες ἐπιλαβ-
 μενοι, ἐπειδὴ διέβησαν εἰς Ἑλλάδα Θεβαῖοι κατα-
 δουλοπασθαι τὰς πόλεις περιουμένους. ἐν πλείτε ἡμ-
 ραν ἐβοήθησαν αὐτοῖν καὶ παῖσι καὶ πύξῃ ἐνέμεναι,
 καὶ πρὶν τριήκοντ' ἡμέρας διελθεῖν ὑπὸ σπύδιον
 Θεβαῖους ὑφείκοντο. κέρτοι τῆς Ἑλλάδος γενόμενοι,
 καὶ τὰς τε πόλεις οὕτως καὶ τὴν πολιτείαν ἀπέδει-
 κναι ἐρῆναι καὶ δικαίως τοῖς παρακυταθμένοις, οἳ χ' ἴσταν-
 μενοι δικαίως εἶναι τὴν ὁρτὴν ἀποκηρυγμένην ἐν
 τῷ πιστευθῆναι. καὶ τελικαῖθ' ὑφ' ἡμῶν εἰς πέποι- 86
 θετες οἱ Χαλκιεῖς οὐ τῆς ὁμοίας ἔμιν ἀπέδωκαν
 χρημάτων. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα διέβητε εἰς Ἑλλάδα
 Πλουτάρχῳ βοηθήσαντες, τοῖς μὲν πρώτοις χρόνοις
 ἴδαν οἷον προσεποιοῦντ' ἡμῶν εἶναι φίλοι, ἐπειδὴ ἐν
 τῇ τῆς Ταρμῶντος παραλόμεν καὶ τὸ Κοτύλαιον
 ἰσχυροῦς ὄντος ὑπερβύλλαν. ἐνταῦθα Καλλίος
 ὁ Χαλκιεῖς, ὃν Δημοσθένης μισθῶν λαβὼν ἐνέκο-
 μίσειν, ὅρῳν τὴν στρατοπέδου τὸ τῆς πίστεως εἰς τῆς 87
 ἐν ταῖς κατασκευαίς, ὅθεν μὴ ὑκίσσεται μύχην
 οὐκ ἔστιν ἀνελκόμενος οὐδὲ βοηθείας ἔλπει οὐτ' ἐκ τῆς
 οὐτ' ἐκ βελόνης, σιμαμαχίας ἐξ ἀπόσεως τῆς Ἑλ-
 λάδος στρατοπέδου καὶ παρὰ Φιλίππου ὄντα μιν
 προσμεταπεμφόμενος, ὃ τ' ὁμιλῶν αὐτοῦ Ταυρο-
 σθένος, ὃ οὐκ ἔστιν ἀπὸ τῆς δεξιότητος καὶ προσχελῶν,
 τὰς Φωαίους ξένους διαβιβάσας, ἦλθον ἐφ' ἡμῶν

88 ὥς ἀναιρήσουτες. καὶ εἰ μὴ πρῶτον μὲν θεῶν τις
 ἔσωσε τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἔπειθ' οἱ στρατιῶται οἱ
 ἑμέτεροι καὶ πεζοὶ καὶ ἵππῳις ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ ἐρίοντο
 καὶ παρὰ τὸν ἵππ' ἔρριπον τὸν ἐν Ταμίταις ἐκ παρα-
 τάξεως μίχον κρατ' ἄσαιτες ἀφάισαν ὑπὸ πύργου
 τοῖς πολιορκίαις. ἐκείλευσεν ἄρ' ἡ πόλις ἀσχιστα
 παθεῖν· οὐ γὰρ τὸ ἐντυχεῖται κατὰ πόλεμον μέγισ-
 τόν ἐστι κακόν. ἀλλ' ἴσταν τις πρὸς ἀσταγερύστis
 ἀναξίους αὐταῦ διακινδυνεύου ὑποτύχη. διπλασίαν
 εἰκὸς εἶναι τὴν συμφουρίαν. ἀλλ' ὅμως ὑμεῖς, τοιαῦτα
 89 πεπονθότες πάλιν ἐκλείψασθε πρὸς αὐτοῖς. τυχὼν
 δὲ παρ' ὑμῶν συγγνώμης Καλλίας ὁ Χαλκιδεὺς
 μικρὴν διαλειπὼν χρυσὸν πάλιν ἦκε φερόμενος εἰς
 τὴν αὐτοῦ φύσιν. Βύβλοικόν μὲν τῷ λόγῳ συνέδριον
 εἰς Χαλκίδα συνάγων, ὅττι μὲν ἐκ τῆν Εὐρύτου ἐξ
 ὑμῶν ἔργῳ παρασκευάζον, ἐξάρτεον δ' αὐτῷ τυμα-
 νίδα περιποιώμενος. καὶ τῷ τῆς ἐλπίδων σιναγω-
 νιστὴν Φίλιππον λαφύσθαι ἀποδιδόναι εἰς Μανικουίαν
 καὶ περὶ μετὰ Φιλίππου. καὶ τῶν ἐταίρων εἰς
 90 ἀνομιάζοντο. ἀδικήσαν δὲ Φιλίππον κακώθεν ἀπὸ
 ἐρῶς ὑπέβαλλεν ἐσπυτῶν φάρων Θηβαίως. ἐγκατα-
 λιπὼν δὲ κἀκείνους, καὶ πλείους τραπόμενος τοιαῖς
 τοῦ Εὐρύτου, παρ' ἧν ὥκει, εἰς μέσον πίπτει τῆς το
 Θηβαίων ἐχθρῆς καὶ τῆς Φιλίππου. ἀσπαρῶν δ' ὅ
 τι χρῆσταιτο αὐτῷ, καὶ παρεγγελλόμενος ἐπ' αὐτὸν
 ἡδὴ στρατείας, μὲν ἐλπίδα λατὴν κατεῖπε σωτη-
 ρίας ἑσπεύειν λαθεῖν τὴν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον, σύμμαχον
 ἀνομιάζοντα βοηθήσαν, εἰ τις ἐπ' αὐτὸν τῶν ὁ πρῶ-
 91 δὴλον ἦν ἐσόμενον, εἰ μὴ ὑμεῖς κωλύσαιτε. ταῦτα
 δὲ διανοηθεὶς ἀποστέλλει δῶδε πρὸς αὐτοὺς Γλαυκῆτην

καὶ Ἐμπίδωνα καὶ Διόδωρον τὸν ἐολιχοδρομήσαντα.
 φέροντας τῷ μὲν δῆμῳ ἐλπίδας κενῆς, Δημοσθένει δ'
 ἀργύριον καὶ τοῖς περὶ αὐτοῦ. τρία δ' ἦν ἂ ἅμα
 ἐξονεῖτο, πρῶτον μὲν μὴ ξιασφαλῆναι τῆς πρὸς ἡμῶς
 συμμαχίας· οἶδεν γὰρ ἦν τὸ μέσον, εἰ μνησθεὶς τῶν
 προτέρων ἀδικημάτων ὁ δῆμος μὴ προσδέξαιτο τὴν
 συμμαχίαν. ἀλλ' ὑπῆρχεν αὐτῷ ἢ φαίγειν ἐκ Χαλ-
 κίδος ἢ τελευτᾶν ἐγκαταληφθέντι τηλικαῦται δυνά-
 μεις ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐπεστράτευσεν, ἢ τε Φιλίππου καὶ ἢ
 Θηβαίων. δεύτερον δ' ἦκου οἱ μισθοὶ τῷ γράψαντι
 τὴν συμμαχίαν ἐπὶ τοῦ μὴ συνεδρεῖν Ἀθηναίσι
 Χαλκιδεὺς, τρίτον δὲ ὥστε μὴ τελεῖν συντάξεις. καὶ 92
 τοῖσιν τῶν προαυρίσεων οἰκτιρῶνς ἀπέτυχε Καλ-
 λίας. ἀλλ' ὁ μισοτίραιος Δημοσθένης, ὥς αὐτὶς
 προσποιεῖται, ὃν φησι Κτησιφῶν τὰ βέλτιστα λέ-
 γειν, ἀπόδοτο μὲν τοῖς καιροῖς τοῖς τίς πόλεως,
 ἔγραψε δ' ἐν τῇ συμμαχίᾳ βοηθεῖν ἡμῶς Χαλκιδεῖσι.
 βῆκα μὲν αὐτικαταλλαξόμενος ἀντὶ τοῖσιν, ἐφ' ἡ-
 μέρας ἑκατὸν προσγράψας Χαλκιδεὺς βοηθεῖν· ἐάν τις
 93 ἢ ἐπ' Ἀθηναίους· τὰς δὲ συνεδρίας καὶ τὰς συν-
 τάξεις, ἐξ ὧν ἰσχύσιν ὁ πόλεμος ἡμελλεν, ἄρ' ἦν
 ἀπόδοτο. καλλίστοις ὁράμασι ἀσχιστ' ἰς πράξεις
 γραφῶν καὶ τῷ λόγῳ προσβιβάζων ἡμῶς, τὰς μὲν
 Βυβλοίας ὥς ἐκ τῶν πάλιν προτέρων ποιῆσαι τοῖς
 αὐτοῖς ἀνομιαῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων, τὰς δὲ συμμαχίας
 ὑστέρως ποιῆσαι μετὰ τὰς εἰργασίας. ἴσα δ' εὖ
 εἶδ' ὅτι ἀληθῆ λέγω, λαβέ μοι τὸν Καλλίου
 γραφεῖν καὶ τὴν συμμαχίαν, καὶ ἀνέγνωθι τὸ ψή-
 φισμα.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

94 Οἷ'πω τοίνυν τοῖτ' ἐστὶ δεινόν, εἰ καιροὶ πέπραγ-
ται τηλικούτοι καὶ συνεδρία καὶ συντάξεις. ἀλλὰ
πολὺ τοῖτου δεινότερον ἡμῖν φαίνεται ὃ μᾶλλον
λέγειν. εἰς γὰρ τοῦτο προήχθη Καλλίας μὲν ὁ Καλ-
κιδεὺς ἰβρεως καὶ πλεονεξίας, Δημοσθένης δὲ ὅς
ἐπαινεῖ Κτησιφῶν, δωροδοκίας, ὥστε τὰς ἐξ Ὀρεσθ-
συντάξεις καὶ τὰς ἐξ Ἐρετρίας, τὰ δέκα τελευτᾶ,
ὁρώτων φρονοῦντων βλέπόντων ἑλκῶν ἡμῶν ἐφέ-
λόμενοι, καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πύλεων τούτων συνεόρους
παρ' ἡμῶν μὲν ἀνίστασθαι, πόλιν δὲ εἰς Ναλκίδα καὶ
τὸ καλούμενον Εἰθβοῖαν συνεόριον συνηγασθαι. ὅν
δε τρέπον καὶ δὲ αἶων κακουργημάτων, ταῦτ' ἤδη
95 ἔξιν ἐστὶν ἀποδοῦναι. ἀφικνέεται γὰρ πρὸς ἡμᾶς
οἰκίητι δὲ ἀγγέλλον ὅλλ' αὐτὸς ὁ Καλλίας, καὶ παρ-
ελθὼν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν λόγους ἐξέλθουσι κακοκ-
σμήτους ὑπὸ Δημοσθένους. ὥστε γὰρ ὥς ἔκει ἐκ
Πελοποννήσου νεώστ' ἐκτεταγμένα συντάξεις εἰς ἑκατὸν
τελευτῶν πρόσθεν ἐπὶ Φιλίππον καὶ διαλεχθέντα
ἔσται ἐκείστους εἶναι συνεόρους, Ἀχαιοὺς μὲν πάντας
καὶ Μεγάρους ἐξήκοντι τελευτᾶ. τὰς δ' ἐν Εἰθβοίᾳ
96 πύλεις ὅπασας τετρακόντα. ἐκ τῶν τελευτῶν τῶν
ἀσφαλέων ὑπάρξουσιν καὶ ναυτικῶν καὶ πεζῶν ἐξαρ-
μῶν εἶναι δὲ πολλοὺς ὅλλους τῶν Ἑλλήνων οὓς βού-
λεσθαι κοινῶν τῆς συντάξεως, ὥστε οὕτω χρημά-
του οἷ τε στρατιωτῶν ἔσθαι ἀπορία. καὶ ταῦτα
μὲν τὰ φανερά· ἔφη δὲ καὶ πρόξενος πρῶτον ἑτέρας
δὲ ἀπορήτων, καὶ τούτων εἶναι τινὰς μάρτυρας τῶν

ἡμετέρων πολιτῶν, καὶ τελευτῶν ὀνομαστὶ παρεκί-
λαι Δημοσθένην καὶ συνεπειν ἡξίου. ὁ δὲ σεμνῶς 97
πάνυ παρελθὼν τὸν τε Καλλίαν ὑπερεπήνει τὸ τε
ἀπόρητον προσεποιήσατο εἰδέναι τὴν δ' ἐκ Πελο-
ποννήσου πρισβείαν, ἣν ἐπρίσβευσε, καὶ τὴν ἐξ
Ἀκαρνανίας ἔφη βούλεσθαι ἡμῶν ἀπαγγεῖλαι, ἣν δ'
αὐτῷ κεφάλαιον τῶν λόγων πάντας μὲν Πελοπον-
νησίους ὑπάρχειν, πάντας δ' Ἀκαρνανίας συντεταγ-
μένους ἐπὶ Φιλίππον ἔφ' ἑαυτοῦ, εἶναι δὲ τὸ σύν-
ταγμα χρημάτων μὲν εἰς ἑκατὸν νεῶν ταχυναυτουσῶν
πληρώματα καὶ εἰς πεζοὺς στρατιάτας μισθοὺς καὶ
ἵππους χιλίοις, ὑπάρξουσιν δὲ πρὸς τοῖτοις καὶ τὰς 98
πολιτικὰς δυνάμεις. ἐκ Πελοποννήσου μὲν πλέον
ἢ δις χιλίοις ὀπλίτας, ἐξ Ἀκαρνανίας δὲ ἑτέροις
τοσούτους· δεδύσθαι δὲ ἀπὸ πάντων τοῖτων τὴν
ἡγεμονίαν ἡμῶν· πραχθήσεσθαι δὲ αὐτὰ οὐκ εἰς μα-
κρὰν ἄλλ' εἰς τὴν ἕκτην ἐπὶ δέκα τοῦ αἰθεστηριώτους
μηνός· εἶναι γὰρ ἐν ταῖς πύλεσιν ἔφ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ
παρηγγεῖλαι πάντας ἡκεῖν συνεδρεῖσοντας Ἀθί· αἶξε
εἰς τὴν παγὸν ἡμετέραν. καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο ἄνθρωπος ἰδίον 99
καὶ οὐ κοινὸν ποιῶν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι ἀλαζύνες
ὅταν τι ψεύδονται, ἀρίστα καὶ ἀσαφῆ πειρῶνται
λέγειν, φοβούμενοι τὴν ἐλεγχον· Δημοσθένης δ' ὅταν
ἀλαζύνεται, πρῶτον μὲν μεθ' ἑρκου ψεύδεται ἐξώ-
λειαν ἐπαράμενος ἑαυτῷ, δεύτερον δέ, ὃ εὖ οἶδεν
οἰδέποτε ἐσόμενα, τολμῶ λέγειν ἀριθμῶν εἰς ὅπ' ἔ-
σται, καὶ ἐν τὰ σώματα οὐχ ἑώρακε, τοῖτων τὰ
ὀνόματα λέγει, κλέπτων τὴν ἀκρίασιν καὶ μιμού-
μενος τοῖς τὰ ληθὴ λέγοντας. εἰδὲ καὶ μάλιστα ἀξίος
ἐστὶ μισεῖσθαι, ὅτι ποιηρὲς ὢν καὶ τὰ τῶν χρηστῶν

100 σημεία διαφθείρει. ταῖτα δ' εἰπὼν δίδωσιν ἀνα-
 γνῶναι ψήφισμα τῷ γραμματεῖ μακρότερον μὲν τῆς
 Ἰλιάδος, κειώτερον δὲ τῶν λόγων οἷς εἶπε λέγειν
 καὶ τοῦ βίου ὃν βεβίωκε, μεστὸν δ' ἐλπίδων οἷκ
 ἰσομέων καὶ στρατοπέδων οἷδεποτε συλλεγῆσο- 68
 μένων ἀπαγαγόν δ' ἡμᾶς ἀπολεν ἀπὸ τοῦ κλέμμα-
 τος καὶ ἀνακρεμίσας ἀπὸ τῶν ἐλπίδων, ἐνταῦθα δὲ
 συστρέψας γράφει κελεύων εἰσθαι πρέσβεις εἰς
 Ἑρέτριαν, οἵτινες δεῖσονται τῶν Ἑρετρίων (πάντη
 γὰρ ἔδει δεσθῆναι) μηκέτι δίδεται τὴν σίνταξιν ἡμῶν
 τὰ πάντα τάλαντα ἀλλὰ Καλλία, καὶ πάλιν ἑτέρους
 αἰρεῖσθαι εἰς Ὀρεῶν πρὸς τοὺς Ὀρεῖτας πρέσβεις,
 οἵτινες δεῖσονται τὸν αὐτὸν Ἀθηναῖος φίλον καὶ
 101 ἐχθρὸν νομίζον. ἔπειτα ἀναβιβάζεται πάλιν ἅπας
 ὢν ἐν τῷ ψήφισματι πρὸς τῷ κλέμματι γρα-
 ψας τὰ πάντα τάλαντα τοῖς πρέσβεις ἀξιοῦν τοὺς
 Ὀρεῖτας μὴ ἡμῶν ἀλλὰ Καλλία εἰδῆναι. Ὅτι δ'
 ἀληθῆ λέγω, ἀφελὼν τὴν κόμπον καὶ τὰς τριήρεις
 καὶ τὴν ἀλαξικίαν ἀνέγνωθι καὶ τοῦ κλέμματος
 ἄψαι, ὃ ἐφείλετο ὁ μισθὸς καὶ ἀνδρὸς ἀνδρωποῦ,
 ὃν φησι Κτησιφῶν καὶ ἐν τῷδε τῷ ψήφισματι δια-
 τελεῖν λέγοιτα καὶ πλείοντα τὰ ὄντα τῷ δήμῳ
 τῶν Ἀθηναίων.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

102 Οὐκοῦν τὰς μὲν τριήρεις καὶ τὴν πεζὴν στρατιάν
 καὶ τὴν παισέλητον καὶ τοὺς συνεδρους λέγω ἠκού-
 σατε, τὰς δὲ συντάξεις τῶν συμμάχων, τὰ ὅσα τάλ-
 λαντα, ἔργῳ ἀπολέσατε.

103 Ἐπίλοιπον δὲ μοί ἐστιν εἰπεῖν ὅτι λαβὼν τρία

τάλαντα μισθὸν τὴν γνώμην ταύτην ἔγραψε Δημο-
 σθένης, τάλαντον μὲν ἐκ Χαλκίδος παρὰ Καλλίου,
 τάλαντον δ' ἐξ Ἑρετρίας παρὰ Κλειτάρχου τοῦ
 τυράννου, τάλαντον δὲ ἐξ Ὀρεῶν, δι' ὃ καὶ καταφανὲς
 ἐγένετο, δημοκρατουμένων τῶν Ὀρεϊτῶν καὶ πάντα
 πραττόντων μετὰ ψηφίσματος. Ἐξηλωμένοι γὰρ
 ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ παντελῶς ἀπόρως διακείμενοι
 πίμπρωσι πρὸς αὐτὸν Γνωσιδῆμον τὸν Χαριγένους
 υἱὸν τοῦ ἐνωστέισαντός ποτε ἐν Ὀρεῶν. δεησόμενον
 αὐτοῦ τὸ μὲν τάλαντον ἀφίεσθαι τῇ πόλει, ἐπαγγελ-
 λόμενον δ' αὐτῷ χαλκὴν εἰκόνα σταθήσεσθαι ἐν
 Ὀρεῶν ὃ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο τῷ Γνωσιδῆμῳ ὅτι ἐλα- 104
 χίσταν χαλκοῦ οἶδεν εἶναι, τὸ δὲ τάλαντον διὰ τοῦ
 Καλλίου εἰσπράττειν. ἀναγκάζονται δὲ οἱ Ὀρεῖται
 καὶ οἷκ ἀπερρώντες ἐπέβησαν αὐτῷ τοῦ τάλαντου
 τὸς δημοσίας προσέειπες, καὶ τέκον ἡνεγκαν Δημο-
 σθένης τοῦ εὐροδοκῆματος δραχμῶν τοῦ μηνὸς τῆς
 μηνῆς, ὅς τοι κεφάλαιον ἀπέβουσαν, καὶ πάντ' ἐπρό-
 χθη μετὰ ψηφίσματος τοῦ δήμου. Ὅτι δὲ ἀληθῆ 105
 λέγω, λαβὲ μοι τὸ ψήφισμα τῶν Ὀρεϊτῶν.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

Τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τὸ ψήφισμα, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, αἰσχυνή
 μὲν τῆς πόλεως, ἔλεγχος δὲ οὐ μικρὸς τῶν Δημοσθέ-
 νους πολιτευμάτων, φανερὰ δὲ κατηγορία τοῦ Κτησι-
 φῶντος· τὴν γὰρ οὔτως αἰσχρῶς εὐροδοκοῦντα οἷκ
 ἔστιν ἄνδρα γεγονέναι ἀγαθὸν, ἃ τετέλεμκεν οἷτος
 γράψαι ἐν τῷ ψήφισματι.

Ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἔτι τίτακται καὶ ὁ τρίτος τῶν καιρῶν, 106
 μᾶλλον δ' ὁ πάντων πικροτάτος χρόνος, ἐν ᾧ Δημο-

σθένης ἀπάλεσε τὰς τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ τῆς πόλεως
πράξεις ἀσεβείας μὲν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς,
ἄδικον δὲ καὶ αἰσάμῳς ἴσῃν τὴν πρὸς Θηβαίους συν-
μαχίαν γράψας. ἄρξεται δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς
αὐτοῦ πλημμελιῶν λέγειν.

- 107 Ἔστι γάρ, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸ Κιρραῖον ὠνομασμέ-
νον πεδίου καὶ λιμὲν ὁ νῦν ἐξέχριστος καὶ ἐπύρατος
ὠνομασμένος. ταύτην ποτὲ τὴν χώραν κατέκρησαν
Κιρραῖοι καὶ Κριταῖοι, γένη παρανομώτατα, οἳ
εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς καὶ τὰ ἀναθήματα ἡσέ-
βουν, ἐξημέρτατον δὲ καὶ εἰς τοὺς Ἀμφικτιόνας.
ἀγανακτήσαντες δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς γενομένοις μόλιστα μὲν,
ὥς λέγεται, οἱ πρόγονοι οἱ ὑμέτεροι, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ οἱ
ἄλλοι Ἀμφικτιόνας μαντεῖαν ἐμαντεύσαντο παρὰ τῷ
θεῷ, τίνι χρὴ τιμωρῆσθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τούτους
108 μετελθεῖν. καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐναιρᾷ ἡ Πιθία πολυμῆν
Κιρραῖοις καὶ Κριταῖοις πάντ' ἔματα καὶ πάσας
τίκτας, καὶ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ἐκπορθήσαντας καὶ
αὐτοὺς ἀνδραποδίσαντας ἀναθεῖναι τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι
τῷ Πυθίῳ καὶ Ἀρτέμιδι καὶ Λητοῖ καὶ Ἀθηνῇ Προ-
ναιᾷ ἐπὶ πάσῃ ἀργίᾳ, καὶ ταύτην τὴν χώραν μὲν
αὐτοῖς ἐργάζεσθαι μὴτ' ἄλλω ἐᾶν. λαβόντες δὲ τὴν
χρησμένην οἱ Ἀμφικτιόνας ἐψηφίσαντο Σάλαος εἰ-
πόντος Ἀθηναίου τὴν γῆμιν, ἀνδρὸς καὶ ἰσμοθε-
τῆσαι δυνατοῦ καὶ περὶ πόλιν καὶ φιλοσοφίαν δια-
τετριφέντος, ἐπιστρατεύειν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐπαγούσι κατὰ τὴν
109 μαντεῖαν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ συναθροίσαντες ἐνναμιν ἱκα-
νὴν τῶν Ἀμφικτιόνων ἐξημέρτατον τοὺς ἀνθρώ-
πους καὶ τὴν λιμένα ἔχουσαν καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν
κατέσκαψαν καὶ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν καθήρσαν κατὰ

τὴν μαντείαν· καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖτοις ὅρκων ὤμοσαν ἰσχυρὸν
μὴτ' αὐτοὶ τὴν ἱερὰν γῆν ἐργάσεσθαι μὴτ' ἄλλω ἐπι-
τρέψειν, ἀλλὰ βοηθήσαι τῷ θεῷ καὶ τῇ γῇ τῇ ἱερῇ
καὶ χειρὶ καὶ ποδί καὶ φωνῇ καὶ πάσῃ ἐντάμει. καὶ 110
οἳ κ' ἀπέχρησεν αὐτοῖς ταῦτον μόνον τὸν ὅρκον ὀμόσαι,
ἀλλὰ καὶ προστρέψειν καὶ ἑρὰν ἰσχυρὰν ὑπὲρ τοί-
των ἐποιήσαντο. γεγραπται γάρ οὕτως ἐν τῇ ἀρᾷ,
"εἴ τις τάδε" φησι "παραβαίνοι ἢ πόλις ἢ ἰδιώτης
ἢ ἔθνος, ἐπαγὴς" φησὶν "ἔστω τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ
τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ Λητοῦς καὶ Ἀθηνῆς Προναίας."
καὶ ἐπέχεται αὐταῖς μὴτε γῆν καρποῖς φέρειν, μὴτε 111
γυναικας τέλει ἀτίκτειν γοῖς οὐδ' οὐκία ἐλλὰ τέρατα,
μὴδ' βοσκήματα κατὰ φύσιν γοῖς ποιέεισθαι, ἦτταν
δὲ αὐτοῖς εἶναι πόλεμον καὶ δικῶν καὶ ἀγορῶν, καὶ
ἐξώλεις εἶναι καὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ οὐκίας καὶ γένος τὸ
ἐκείνων. "καὶ μὴποτε" φησιν "ὁσίως θέσαιεν τῷ
Ἀπόλλωνι μὴδ' τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι μὴδ' τῇ Λητοῖ μὴδ'
Ἀθηνῇ Προναίᾳ, μὴδ' εἴξαιντο αὐτοῖς τὰ ἱερά."
Ὅτι δ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, ἀνάγκη τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ μαντείαν, 112
ἀκούσατε τῆς ἀρᾶς. ἀναμνήσθητε τῶν ὅρκων, οὓς
ὑμῶν οἱ πρόγονοι μετὰ τῶν Ἀμφικτιόνων συνά-
μοσαν.

ΜΑΝΤΕΙΑ.

[εἴ πρὶν τῇδε πάλως ἐραίετε πύργον ἐλόντες,
πρὶν γε θεῷ τεμένει κτανώπιδος Ἀμφιτρίτης
κῆμα ποτικλῆς, κελαδοῖν ἱεραῖσιν ἐπ' ἀκταῖς.]

ΛΡΑ. ΟΡΚΟΙ.

Ταύτης τῆς ἀρᾶς καὶ τῶν ὅρκων καὶ τῆς μαν- 113
τείας γενομένης, ἀναγεγραμμένων ἔτι καὶ νῦν, οἱ
Λοκροὶ οἱ Ἀμφισσιεῖς, μᾶλλον δὲ οἱ προσσηκότες

αὐτῶν, αἰδρες παρανομώτατοι, ἐπειργάζοντο τὸ πε-
διον, καὶ τὴν λιμένα τῶν ἐξαχιστον καὶ ἐπαρσιον
παλιν ἐπέχισαν καὶ συνόκισαν, καὶ τέλη τοῖς κατα-
πλέοιτας ἐξέλεγον, καὶ τῶν ἀδικουμένων εἰς Δα-
φύας πυλαγῶν ἐνοῦς χρήμασι ἐπέφειραν, ἃν εἰς
114 ἢ Δρυοστέως. χειροτονηθεὶς γὰρ ὑφ' ὑμῶν πυλα-
γῶν λαμβάνει δισχιλίας δραχμὰς παρὰ τῶν Ἀμ-
φισσέων ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδεμίαν μείαν περιαιτῶναι τοῖς
Ἀμφικτίοσι ποιήσασθαι. διωμολογήθη δ' αἰτῶ καὶ
εἰς τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ἀποσταλῆσθαι Ἀθηναῖοι
τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐκαστοῦ μὴς ἑκάστη τῶν ἐξαχιστων καὶ
ἐπαρσιων χορηγῶν, ἐφ' ὥστε βοηθήσειν τοῖς Ἀμφισ-
σέσιν Ἀθηναῖσι κατὰ πάντα τρόπον ὅθεν μᾶλλον ἢ
πρώτην συμβέβηκεν αὐτῷ, ἔτου ἂν προσέφεται
ἀνδρὶς ἰδίαςται ἢ δυναστὸν ἢ πόλεως δημοκρατία
115 σκάνδαλον αἰ τῶν βαίμων καὶ τὴν τέχνην, ὥς προ-
εργαζομένη τῆς τῶν Ἀμφισσέων ἀσπίδας. ἐπὶ γὰρ Θεο-
φρωστὴν ἀρχόντος, ἱερωνύμου δὲ οὗτος Διογυῆτον
Ἀναγυρσίτου, πυλαγῶν ὑμεῖς εἰλεσθε Μειδῶν τε
ἐκείνων τὸν Ἀναγυρσίτου, οὐ ἐβαυλόμην ἂν πολλῶν
εἶναι ξῖν, καὶ Θρυσυκλῆα τὸν Λάκκιον, καὶ τρίτον
οὐ μετὰ τούτων εἶναι. συνέβη δ' ἡμῖν ἄρτους μὴ εἰς
Δελφὸς ἀφῆλθαι, παραχρῆμα δὲ τὴν ἱερωνύμου
Διογυῆτον περὶ τῶν τῶν αἰτῶν τοῦτο συνεπεπτώκει
καὶ τῶ Μαιδῶ. οἱ δ' ἄλλοι συνεκλήθητο Ἀμφισσέ-
116 οῖς. ἐξηγγέλλεται δ' ἡμῖν παρὰ τῶν Βουλομένων εἰ-
ροῖαν εἰσάκουσθαι τῇ πόλει, ὅτι οἱ Ἀμφισσέες ὑπο-
πεπτώκότες τότε καὶ δυνάως θεραπεύοντες τοὺς Θε-
βαίους εἰσέφερον ὄχημα κατὰ τῆς ἐμετέρας πόλεως,

πεντήκοντα ταλάντοις ζημιῶσαι τὸν δῆμον τῶν Ἀθη-
ναίων, ὅτι χρυσὸς ἀσπίδας ἀνέθηκε πρὸς τὸν καιρὸν
τοῦ πρὶν ἐξυμῶσθαι, καὶ ἐπέγραψεν τὸ προσ-
ῆκον ἐπίγραμμα " Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπὸ Μίλων καὶ Θε-
βαίων ὅτε πάναντία τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἐμάχοντο." μετα-
περὶ φέμενος δὲ με ὁ ἱερωνύμου ἦξεν εἰσελθεῖν εἰς
τὸ συνεδριον καὶ εἰπεῖν τι πρὸς τοῖς Ἀμφικτίοσι
ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ αἰτεῖν αὐτῶ προηρημένον.
ἀρχιμῆνεν δὲ μου λέγειν καὶ προθυμότερόν πως 117
εἰσελθελύθεις εἰς τὸ συνέδριον, τῶν ἄλλων πυλαγῶ-
ν μὴ στήκτων, διαβούσας τις τῶν Ἀμφισσέων,
ἀνθρώπος ἀσελγέστατος καὶ (ὥς ἐμοὶ ἐφαίνετο) οὐ-
δαμίης παιδείας μετεσχηκός, ἰσως δὲ καὶ δαιμονίου
ταῖς ἐξημαρτῶν αἰτῶν προαγομένην, "ἀρχὴν δέ
γῃ" εἶπεν "ὦ ἀνδρες Ἕλληνες, εἰ ἐσωφρονεῖτε, οὐδ'
ἂν ἀνέμειστο τῶνομα τοῦ δῆμου τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐν
ταῖς ταῖς ἡμέραις, ἀλλ' ὥς ἐταγῆς ἐξείργετ' ἂν ἐκ
τοῦ ἱεροῦ." ὅμα δὲ ἐμέμνητο τῆς τῶν Φωκέων συμ- 118
μαχίας, ἣν ὁ Κρωβύλλος ἐκείνος ἐγραψέ, καὶ ἄλλα
πολλὰ καὶ δυσχερῆ κατὰ τῆς πόλεως διεξέειλέγων,
ἃ ἐγὼ αὐτὸς τὰ ἐκαρτέρων ἀκούων οὔτε τῶν ἰσῶς
μείνῃμαι αὐτῶν. ἀκούσας δὲ οὕτω παρωξύνθην ὥς
οἰδ' ἂν ποτ' ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ αὐτοῦ βίῳ, καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἄλ-
λοις λόγους ὑπερβήσομαι ἐπίλθε δὲ μοι ἐπὶ τὴν
γῆν τὴν ἱερὴν ἀσπίδας, καὶ αἰτῶν ἐσθλὴς ἐρεῖκ-
ναι τοῖς Ἀμφικτίοσι ὑπὸ καίτοι τὸ Κιρραῖον
πέδιον τῷ ἱερῷ καὶ ἔστιν εὐσύντοπον. "ἰβίτ'." εἶπεν 119
ἐγὼ, "ὦ ἀνδρες Ἀμφικτίοτες, ἐξεργασμένον τοῦτο
τὸ πέδιον ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀμφισσέων καὶ κεραμεῖα ἐνφ-

κοδομημένα καὶ αἶλια· ὁρᾶτε τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς τὸν
 ἐξίγιστον καὶ ἐπάρατον λιμένα τετειχισμένον· ἴσθι
 τούτους αἰτοὶ καὶ οἶδεν ἑτέρων δεῖσθε μαρτύρων·
 τέλη πεπρακότας καὶ χρήματα λαμβάνοντας ἐκ τοῦ
 ἱεροῦ λιμένος· ἡμετέραν ἀναγκὴν ἄσκειν ἐκείλους καὶ τοὺς
 τὴν μαρτείαν τοῦ θεοῦ, τὴν ἔρκον τῶν προγόνων,
 120 τὴν ὁρὰν τὴν γεινομένην, καὶ διορίζουσαν ἔτι “ἐγὼ
 μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὄρους τοῦ Ἀθηναίων καὶ τοῦ σώματος
 καὶ τῶν τέκνων καὶ οἰκίας τῆς ἑμαυτοῦ βοηθῶ κατὰ
 τὸν ἔρκον καὶ τῷ θεῷ καὶ τῇ γῇ τῇ ἱερᾷ καὶ χειρὶ
 καὶ ποδὶ καὶ φωνῇ καὶ πῦσιν οἷς δύναμαι, καὶ τὴν
 πόλιν τὴν ἡμετέραν τὴν πρὸς ταῖς θεαῖς ἀφοσιω-
 ῖν· οἱ δὲ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν αἰτῶν ἤδη βουλεύεσθε. ἐνῆρκται
 μὲν τὰ κακὰ, παρέστηκε δὲ τοῖς βωμοῖς τὰ θύματα,
 μέλλετε δ’ αἰτεῖν τοῖς θεοῖς τὰ γὰρ καὶ κινῆ καὶ
 121 ἰδίᾳ· σκοπεῖτε δὲ ποῖα φωνῇ, ποῖα ψυχῇ, ποῖοις
 ἔργοις, τίνα τέλματα κτησόμενοι τὰς ἰουσίας ποιή-
 σεσθε, τοίτους παρέντες ἀτιμωρήτους τοῖς ἱεραῖς
 καὶ ταῖς ὁρᾷς ἐνέχουσ. σὺ γάρ εἰ ἀληγμάτων ἀλλ’
 ἐταργῆς γ’ ἡγριπται ἐν τῇ ὁρᾷ κατὰ τε τῶν ἀτιμω-
 ρήτων, ἢ χρεὶ παθεῖν αὐτοῖς, καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἐπι-
 τρεφέντων, καὶ τελευταίων [ἐν τῇ ὁρᾷ γ’ ἡγριπται]
 μὴ ἐσίως θέσαιεν οἱ μὴ τιμωροῦντες, εἴθε, τῷ
 Ἀπ. Ἀλλων μὴδὲ τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι μὴδὲ τῇ Ἀγροῖ μὴδ’
 122 Ἀθηναίᾳ Προκαίᾳ, μὴδὲ ὀξείαιτο αὐτοῖς τὰ ἱερά·
 τοιαῦτα καὶ πρὸς τοῖς ἑτέροις πολλὰ διεξιλέοντες
 ἡμεῖς, ἐπειδὴ ποτε ἀπηλλοτριῆν καὶ μετίστην ἐκ τοῦ
 συνείματος, κραυγὴ πολλὴ καὶ ἑόρμητος ἦν τῶν Ἀμ-
 φικτιόνων, καὶ λόγος ἦν οἰκῆτι περὶ τῶν ἀσπίων
 ὡς ἡμεῖς ἀνέστημεν, ἀλλ’ ἤδη παρὶ τῆς τῶν Ἀμφικτι-

σῶν τιμωρίας. ἤδη δὲ πόρρω τῆς ἡμέρας [οἷσθις]
 προελθὼν ὁ κῆρυξ ἀνείπε, Δελφῶν ὅσοι ἐπὶ εἰετες
 ἤβησαι, καὶ δοῖλους καὶ δειθερούς. ἦκειν ἅμα τῇ
 ἡμέρᾳ ἔχοντας ἅμα καὶ δίκελλας πρὸς τὸ θεῖον
 καὶ κελουμένοι· καὶ πάλιν ὁ αὐτὸς κῆρυξ ἀνέειπε
 τοῖς ἱερουμένους καὶ πυλαγόρους ἦκειν εἰς τὸν
 1 αἰτῶν τοῦτον βοηθήσοιτας τῷ θεῷ καὶ τῇ γῇ τῇ ὁρᾷ·
 “ἦτες ὅσον μὴ παρῇ πόλιν, ἐλθεται τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ
 ἱεραγῆς ἔσται καὶ τῇ ὁρᾷ ἐνέχος.” τῇ δὲ ἰστέρα 123
 ἦκομεν εὐθεὶς εἰς τὸν προειρημένον τόπον, καὶ κατέ-
 βημεν εἰς τὸ Κιρραῖον πεδῖον, καὶ τὸν λιμένα κατα-
 σκάψαντες καὶ τὰς οἰκίας ἐμπρησαντες ἀνεχωροῦ-
 μεν. ταῦτα δὲ ἡμῶν πραττέων οἱ Λοκροὶ οἱ
 Ἀμφισσῶν, ἐξήκοντα στάδια ὑπέστην οἰκοῦντες Δελ-
 φῶν, ἦσαν πρὸς ἡμᾶς μετ’ ὅπλων παιδευμένοι καὶ εἰ
 μὴ ὁρῶν μάστις ἐξεφίγομεν εἰς Δελφούς, ἐκινδυνεί-
 σαμεν ἢ ἀπολέσθαι. τῇ δὲ ἐπιούσῃ ἡμέρᾳ Κότ- 124
 τυφὸς ὁ τὰς ἡμέρας ἐπιψυφίζων ἐκκλησίαν ἐποίησε
 τῶν Ἀμφισσῶν ἐκκλησίαν γὰρ ὀνομάζουσιν. ἔσαν
 μὴ μόνον τοῖς πυλαγόροις καὶ τοῖς ἱερουμέ-
 νοις συγκυλιεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς συνθέοντας καὶ
 χρομένους τῷ θεῷ. ἐταυθ’ ἤδη πολλὰ μὲν ἐγίνε-
 ταν τῶν Ἀμφισσῶν κατηγορεῖν, πολλοὶ δ’ ἐπαινος
 ἦν κατὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας πόλεως τέλος δὲ παῖτες τοῦ
 λόγου ψυφίζονται ἦκειν τοῖς ἱερουμένοις πρὸς τῆς
 ἐπιούσης πυλαίας ἐν ῥητῇ χρεῖν εἰς Πίλας, ἔχον-
 τας ὄψμα κατ’ ὅτι εἰκας εἰσάγουσι εἰς Ἀμφισσῶν
 ἐπὶ ὧν οἱ τὸν θεῶν καὶ τῇ γῇ τῇ ὁρᾷ καὶ τοῖς
 Ἀμφικτιόνων ἐξημαρτον. Ὅτι δὲ ἀληθῆ λέγω,
 ἀναγνώσεται ἡμῶν ὁ γραμματεὺς τὸ ψήφισμα.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

- 125 Τοῦ δόγματος τούτου ἀποδοθέντος ἰδὲ ἡμῶν
 ἐν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ πάλιν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, καὶ τὰς
 πράξεις ἡμῶν ἀποδεξαμένου τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῆς πό-
 λεως πάσης προαιρουμένης εἰσεβῆναι, καὶ Δημοσθέ-
 νους ὑπὲρ τοῦ μεσεγγυήματος τοῦ ἐξ Ἀμφισσης
 ἀντιλέγοντος, καὶ ἑμοῦ φανερῶς ἐναντίων ἡμῶν ἐξε-
 λέγοντος, ἐπειδὴ ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ τὴν πόλιν ἀνθρώ-
 πος οὐκ ἔδεικτο σφῶλαι, εἰσελθόντες εἰς τὸ βουλευ-
 τήριον καὶ μεταστρεφάμενος τοὺς ἰδιώτας ἐκφέρεται
 126 προβουλευόμενος εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, προσλαβὼν τὴν
 τοῦ γράψαντος ἀπειρίαν, τὸ δ' αὖτε τοῦτο καὶ ἐν τῇ
 ἐκκλησίᾳ εἰσπρίξεται ἐπιψηφισθῆναι καὶ γινώσκειν
 δόξαν ψήφισμα ἢ ἡ ἐπαναστάσεως τῆς ἐκκλησίας,
 ἀπεληλυθὸς ἑμοῦ (οὗ γὰρ ἂν ποτε ἐπέτρεψαι καὶ
 τῶν πολλῶν δὲ ἀφαιμένων· οὗ τὸ κεφάλαιον ἐστίν,
 "τὸν ἱερομνήμονα" φησὶ "τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τοῖς
 πυλαγόροις τοῖς αἰὶ πυλαγοροῦντας πορευομένους εἰς
 Πίλιν καὶ εἰς Δελφοὺς ἐν τοῖς τεταγμένοις χρόνοις
 ὑπὸ τῶν προγόνων," εὐπρεπῶς γε τῷ ὀνόματι, ἀλλὰ
 τῷ ἔργῳ αἰσχρὸς· κωλύει γὰρ εἰς τὴν σύλλογον τῶν
 ἐν Πίλιν ἀπαντῆν, ὅς ἐξ ἀνάγκης πρὸ τοῦ καθήκον-
 127 τος ἑταλλε χρόνον γίνεσθαι, καὶ πάλιν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ
 ψήφισματι πολλὸν καὶ σαφέστερον καὶ πικροτέρως
 προσταγμὰ γράφει, "τὸν ἱερομνήμονα" φησὶ "τῶν
 Ἀθηναίων καὶ τοῖς πυλαγόροις τοῖς αἰὶ πυλαγο-
 ροῦντας μὴ μετέχειν τοῖς ἐκεῖ συλλεγμένοις μήτε
 λόγων μήτε ἔργων μήτε δογματικῶν μήτε πρὸς
 μηδεμιᾶς." τὸ δὲ μὴ μετέχειν τί ἐστίν; πότερά τ' ἀλη-
 ρὲς εἶπω ἢ τὸ ἥμιστον ἀκούσαι; τὸ ἀληθὲς ἔρω· τὸ

γὰρ αἰὲ πρὸς ἡδονὴν λεγόμενον οὕτως τὴν πόλιν
 διατέθεικεν, οὐκ ἔα μεμνησθαι τῶν ἔρκων, οὐς ἡμῶν
 οἱ πρόγονοι ἄρσαν, οἷδε τῆς ἀρᾶς οἷδε τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ
 μαντείας.

Ἡμεῖς μὲν οἶν, ὃ Ἀθηναῖοι, κατεμείναμεν διὰ 123
 τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι Ἀμφικτιόνες συνε-
 λέγησαν εἰς Πίλιν πλὴν μίσι πόλεως, ἥς ἐγὼ οὐτ'
 ἂν τοῖτομα εἶποιμι, μήθ' αἱ συμφοραὶ παραπλήσιοι
 γίνεσθαι αὐτῆς μηδὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, καὶ συνελθόν-
 τες ἐψηφίσαντο ἐπιστρατεῖν ἐπὶ τοῖς Ἀμφισσέας,
 καὶ στρατηγὸν εἰλάντο Κόττιφον τὸν Φαρσάλιον τὸν
 τότε τὰς γῆρας ἐπὶ ψήφισοντα, οὐκ ἐπισημοῦντος ἐν
 Μακεδονίᾳ Φιλίππου, ἀλλ' οἷδε ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι παρ-
 ὄντος, ἀλλ' ἐν Σκίβαις οὕτω μακρὰν ἀπόστασιν· ὅν
 αἰτίκα μῆλα τοῖς μίσι λέγειν Δημοσθένους ὅς ἐγὼ
 ἐπὶ τοῖς Ἑλλήναις ἐπὶ γὰρ, καὶ παρελθόντες τῇ 129
 πρώτῃ στρατείᾳ καὶ μῆλα μετρίως ἐχρήσαντο τοῖς
 72 Ἀμφισσέαι· ἀντὶ γὰρ τῶν μεγίστων ἀδικημάτων
 χρεῖμασιν αὐτοῖς ἐξομώσαν, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐν μὲν χρόνῳ
 προείπον τῷ θεῷ καταβῆναι, καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἐναγῆς
 καὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων αἰτίους μετεστήσαντο, τοῖς δὲ
 εἰς εἰρήνην φερόντας κατέγαγον· ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὔτε
 τὰ χρεῖματα ἐξέτινον τῷ θεῷ τοῖς τ' ἐναγῆς κατέ-
 γαγον καὶ τοῖς εἰσεβῆς καταλόντας διὰ τῶν Ἀμφι-
 κτιόνων ἐξέβαλον, οὕτως ἦδη τὴν δευτέραν στρα-
 τείαν ἐπὶ τοῖς Ἀμφισσέαις ἐποιήσαντο, πολλῷ χρόνῳ
 ὕστερον, ἐπανελθὼντος Φιλίππου ἐκ τῆς ἐπὶ τοῖς
 Σκίβαις στρατείας, τῶν μὲν θεῶν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τῆς
 εἰσεβείας ἡμῖν παραδόντων, τῆς δὲ Δημοσθένους
 δωροδοκίας ἐμποδίσαν γεννημένης.

- 130 Ἄλλ' οὐ προΐλεγον, οὐ προσήμαινον ἡμῖν οἱ θεοὶ φυλάξασθαι, μόνον οὐκ ἀνθρώπων φρονίως προσκτεσόμενοι; αὐδαμῶν τοι πάποτε ἔγωγε μῆλλαν πάλιν εὐρακα ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν θεῶν σωζομένην, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν μητέρων ἐνέου ἀπολλυμένην. οὐχ ἱκανὸν ἔν τῷ τοῖς μυστηρίοις φανέν σημεῖον φυλάξασθαι. ἢ τῶν μυστῶν τελευτῇ, οὐ περὶ τούτων Ἀρμενίου μὲν προΐλεγε εὐλαβεῖσθαι καὶ πέμπειν εἰς Δελφούς ἐπερησομένους τὸν θεὸν ὃ τι χρὴ πράττειν, Δημοσθένους δὲ ἀντέλεγε φιλοπρίξαι τὴν Πυθίαν φασκων, ἀπαίδευτος ὢν καὶ ἀποδιδῶν καὶ ἐμπισπλήμενος τῆς
- 131 διδομένης ἐφ' ἡμῶν αὐτῷ ἔξουσις; οὐ τὸ τελευτῶν ἀθύρων καὶ ἀκαλλιγῆτων τῶν ἱερῶν οὕτων ἐξέπρεψε τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐπὶ τῶν προήλων κίσδωναι; καίτοι γε πρότερον ἐπιτιμῆς λέγειν ὅτι παρὰ τοῦτο Φιλεππυς οἶκ ἦλθεν ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν, ὅτι οἶκ ἔν αὐτῷ καλὰ τὰ ἱερᾶ. τίνας αἰὲν ζημίας ὄξως εἰ τιχάιν, ὃ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀλιτήριος; εἰ γὰρ ὁ μὲν κρατεῖν οὐκ ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν τῶν κρυτομένων χώραν, ὅτι οἶκ ἔν αὐτῷ καλὰ τὰ ἱερᾶ. αἱ δ' αἰεὶ πρᾶντες τῶν μέλλόντων ὁρᾶναι πρὶν καλλιγῆσαι τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐξέπρεψε. πότερον στεφανοῦσθαι σε δεῖ ἐπὶ ταῖς τῆς πόλεως ἀτυχίαις ἢ ἐπιμαρῖσθαι;
- 132 Τσιγάρτοι τί τῶν ἀπιστίων καὶ ἀπειθειῶν ἐφ' ἡμῶν αὐτῷ γένηται; ὡς γὰρ βίον γε ἡμεῖς ἀνθρώπων βιβλάκαμεν, ἀλλ' εἰς παραδόξουλαγίαν τοῖς ἐσόμενοις μεθ' ἡμᾶς ἔφυγεν. οὐχ ὁ μὲν τῶν Περσῶν βασιλεὺς, ὁ τῶν Ἀθῶν διορίσας, ὁ τῶν Ἑλλήσποριων ἡγεστῆς, ὁ γὰρ καὶ ὕδαρ τοὺς Ἑλληνας αἰτῶν, ὁ τελευτῶν ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς γράφειν ὅτι δισπότης ἐστίν

ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων ἀφ' ἡλίου ἀνάστος μ' ἄχρι εὐομένου, νῦν δὲ περὶ τοῦ κέρους εἶναι διαγωνίζεται, ἀλλ' ἤδη περὶ τῆς τοῦ σώματος σωτηρίας; καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἄρῶμεν τῆς τε δόξης ταύτης καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν Πέρσῃν ἡγεμονίας ἡξιωμένους, οἱ καὶ τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς ἱερῶν ἡλευθέρωσαι. Θῶραι δέ, Θῶραι, 133 πόλεις ἀστυγίτων, μεθ' ἡμέραν μίαν ἐκ μέσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀνιρηπασται, εἰ καὶ διασῶς, περὶ τῶν ὅλων ὡς ἡρῶς βουλευσόμενοι. ἀλλὰ τίμηγε θεοβλάβειαν καὶ τὴν ἀφροσύνην οὐκ ἀνθρωπίνως ἀλλὰ δαιμονίως κτεσόμενοι. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δ' οἱ ταλαίπαροι, προσυψάμενοι μόνον τούτων τῶν πραγμάτων ἐξ ἀρχῆς περὶ τὴν τοῦ ἱεροῦ κατάληψιν, αἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ποτὲ ἀξιοῦντες ἡγούμενες εἶναι, νῦν ὀμηρεύοντες καὶ τῆς συμφορᾶς ἐπιδείξιν ποιησόμενοι μέλλουσιν εἰς Ἀλέξανδρον ἀναπέμπεσθαι, τοῦτο πεισόμενοι καὶ εὐτοὶ καὶ ἡ πατρίς ὃ τι αὐτῶν ἐκείνῳ δοῖε, καὶ ἐν τῇ τοῦ κρατοῦντος καὶ προηδικημένου μετρίότητι κριθήσονται. ἢ δ' ἡμετέρα πόλεις, ἢ κοινὴ καταφυγὴ τῶν 134 Ἑλλήνων, πρὸς ἣν ἀφικνούντο πρότερον ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος αἱ πρεσβυαί, κατὰ πόλεις ἵκασται παρ' ἡμῶν τὴν σωτηρίαν εὐρησόμενοι, νῦν αὖκέτι περὶ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡγεμονίας ἀγωνίζεται. ἀλλ' ἤδη περὶ τοῦ τῆς πατρίδος εὐδύφους. καὶ ταῦθ' ἡμῖν συμβέβηκεν ἐξ ἡττου Δημοσθένους πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν προσελήλυθεν. εὐ γὰρ περὶ τῶν τοιοῦτων Ἡσίοδος ὁ ποιητὴς ἀποφαίνεται. λέγει γὰρ πον παίδων τὰ πλήθη καὶ συμβουλευόν ταῖς πόλεσι τοῖς πονηροῖς τῶν δημαγωγῶν μὴ προσδέχισθαι. λέξω δὲ καὶ γὰρ τὰ ἔπη διὰ 135 τοῦτο γὰρ οἶμαι ἡμᾶς παῖδας ὄντας τὰς τῶν ποιητῶν

γυνάμας ἐκμανθάνειν, ἵν' αἰεὶς ἔντες αἰταῖς χρώμεθα

πολλάκι δὴ ξύμπασα πόλεις κακοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀπήμα,
ὅς κεν ἀλιτράνῃ καὶ ἀτάσθαλι μηχανάσται.
τοῖσιν δ' αἰνέσθαι μὲν ἐπὶ γὰρ πῆμα Κροῖων,
λίμων ὁμοῦ καὶ λοιμῶν, ἀποφθάνουσιν δὲ λαοί·
ἢ τῶν γε στρατῶν εἶναι ἀπώλεσεν ἢ ὅ γε τεῖχος,
ἢ ἰεὺς ἐν πόλει ἀπὸ πύργου εἰρότα Ζεὺς.

- 136 εἰν δὲ περιελύντες τοῦ ποιητοῦ τὸ μέτρον τὰς γυνά-
μας ἐξετάζητε, οἶμαι ὑμῖν δεῖξιν οὐ ποιήματα Ἡσιό-
δου εἶναι ἀλλὰ χρησμῶν εἰς τὴν Δημοσθένους πολι-
τείαν· καὶ γὰρ γαιτική καὶ πεζὴ στρατιὰ καὶ πόλεις
ἄρδην εἰσὶν ἀηρηπασμένα ἐκ τῆς ταύτου πολιτείας.
- 137 Ἄλλ' οἶμαι, οὔτε Φρυγίαν οὔτε Εἰρῆνιστον οὔτ'
ἄλλος οἰδεῖς πώποτε τῶν πάλαι ποιητῶν τοιοῦτος
μάγος καὶ γῆρας ἐγένετο, ὅς, ὦ γῆ καὶ θεοὶ καὶ δαί-
μονες καὶ ἄνθρωποι ὅσοι βούλεσθε ἀκοῖναι τὰληθῆ,
τολμᾷ λέγειν βλέπων εἰς τὰ πρόσωπα τὰ ὑμέτερα,
ὥς ἄρα Θηβαῖοι τὴν συμμαχίαν ἡμῖν ἐποιήσαντο οὐ
διὰ τὸν καιρὸν, οὐ διὰ τὸν φόβον τὸν περιστάμενα
αὐτοῖς, οὐ διὰ τὴν ὑμέτεραν δόξαν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὰς
- 138 Δημοσθένους δημηγορίας. καίτοι πολλὰς μὲν πρότε-
ρον πρεσβείας ἐπρίσβανσαν εἰς Θήβας οἱ μάλιστα
οὐκείως ἐκείνοις ἐσκαίμενοι, πρῶτος μὲν Θρασύβου-
λος ὁ Κολλυταῖς, αὐτὴρ ἐν Θήβαις πιστευθεὶς ὥς
οὐδεὶς ἕτερος, πάλιν Θρασων ὁ Ἐρχιεῖς, πρῶτος δὲ
Θηβαίοις, Λεωδείμας ὁ Ἀχαρνεῖς, σὺν ἱππῶν Δημο-
σθένους λέγειν δυνάμενος ἄλλ' ἔμοιγε καὶ ἡλίων,
- 139 Ἀρχέδημος ὁ Πηληξ, καὶ δυνατὸς εἰπεῖν καὶ πολλὰ
κεκινδυνευκὸς ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ διὰ Θηβαίους, Ἀρισ-

ταφῶν ὁ Ἀθηναῖος, πλεῖστον χρόνον τὴν τοῦ Βοιωτιᾶ-
ζεν ὑπομείνας αἰτίαν, Πύρρανδρος ὁ Ἀναφλύστιος,
ὅς ἐτι καὶ νῦν ἔσθ'. ἀλλ' ὅμως οἰδεῖς πώποτε αὐτοῖς
ἐδυνάμην προτρέψασθαι εἰς τὴν ὑμέτεραν φιλίαν. τὸ
δ' αἰτίαν οὐκ ἔστιν, λέγειν δ' οἶζον δεῖσθαι διὰ τὰς
ἀτυχίας αὐτῶν. ἀλλ' οἶμαι ἐπειδὴ Φίλιππος αὐτῶν 140
ἀφελόμενος Νίκαιαν Θητταλοῖς παρέδωκε, καὶ τὸν
πόλεμον ἔν πρότερον ἐξήλασεν ἐκ τῆς χώρας τῆς
Βοιωτῆς, τοῦτον πάλιν τὸν αὐτὸν πόλεμον ἐπὶ γὰρ
διὰ τῆς Φωκίας ἐπ' αὐτὰς τὰς Θήβας, καὶ τὸ τε-
λευταῖον Ἐλάτειαν καταλαβὼν ἐχαρῖκωσε καὶ φρου-
ρὰν εἰσήγαγεν, ἐνταῦθα ἦλθον, ἐπεὶ τὸ δευτὸν αὐτῶν
ἥπτετο, μετεπέμψαντο Ἀθηναίους, καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐξελ-
θετε καὶ εἰσέλθετε εἰς τὰς Θήβας ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις διε-
σκευασμένοι, καὶ οἱ ἵπποι καὶ οἱ πεζοὶ, πρὶν περὶ
συμμαχίας μίαν μίσθην συλλαβὴν γράψαι Δημοσθέ-
νην. ὁ δ' εἰσαγὼν ἦν ὑμᾶς εἰς τὰς Θήβας καιρὸς 141
καὶ φόβος καὶ χρεῖα συμμαχίας, ἀλλ' οὐ Δημοσθέ-
νης. ἐπεὶ περὶ γε ταύτας τὰς πρίξας τρία τὰ πάντων
μέγιστα Δημοσθένους εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐξημάρτηκε, πρῶτον
μὲν ὅτι Φιλίππου τῷ μὲν ὀνέματι πολεμοῦντος
ὑμῖν, τῷ δ' ἔργῳ πολὺ μᾶλλον μισοῦντος Θηβαίους,
ὥς αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα ἐπὶ γὰρ, καὶ τί δὲ τὰ πλείω
λέγειν; ταῦτα μὲν τὰ τηλικαῦτα τὸ μέγεθος ἀπεκρύ-
ψατο, προσποιησάμενος δὲ μέλλειν τὴν συμμαχίαν
γενησεσθαι οὐ διὰ τοὺς καιροὺς ἀλλὰ διὰ τὰς αὐτοῦ 142
πρεσβείας πρῶτον μὲν συνέπεισε τὸν δῆμον μηκέτι
βουλεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τίσι δέει ποιεῖσθαι τὴν συμμαχίαν,
ἀλλ' ἀγχιπῶν μόνον εἰ γίγνεται, τοῦτο δὲ προλαβὼν
ἐκείνου μὲν τὴν Βοιωτίαν πᾶσαν ἐποίησε Θηβαίοις.

γράφας ἐν τῷ ψηφίσματι, εἴαν τις ἀφαστῇται πάλαι
ἀπὸ Θηβαίων, βοηθῇ τῷ Ἀθηναίῳσι Βοιωτοῖς τοῖς ἐν
Θήβαις, τοῖς ἀνύμασι κλέπτων καὶ μεταφύρων τὰ
πραγματοῦ, ὥσπερ εἶπεν, ὥς τοῖς Βοιωτοῖς ἔργῳ 71
κακῶς πύσχνοντας τὴν τῶν ἀνομιῶν συνέσειν τῶν
Δημοσθένους ἀγαπητοῦς. ἀλλ' οὐ μᾶλλον εἴς οἷς
143 κακῶς πεπαιδευμένον ἀγανακτῆτορας· δεύτερον δὲ τῶν
εἰς τῶν πόλεμον ἀναλωμάτων τὰ μὲν δύο μέρη ἡμῶν
ἀνέβηκεν, οἷς ἦσαν ἀποπύρῳ οἱ κίνδυνοι, τὸ δὲ τρίτον
μέρος Θηβαίοις, βαρυντικῶν εἴς ἐκείτους τοῦτον, καὶ
τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τὴν μὲν κατὰ θάλατταν ἐποίησε κοι-
νὴν, τὸ δ' ἀνάλωμα ἴσον ἡμέτερον, τὴν δὲ κατὰ
γῆν, εἰ μὴ εἰς ληρῆν, ἄρῃν φέρων ἀνέβηκε Θηβαίοις.
ὥστε παρὰ τῶν γονόμενον πόλεμον μὴ κέρων γενέ-
σθαι Στρατοκλῆ τῶν ἡμέτερον στρατηγῶν βαυλευ-
144 σασθαι παρὰ τῆς τῶν στρατιωτῶν σωτηρίας. καὶ
ταῦτ' οἷα ἐγὼ μὲν κατηγορῶ ἑτέρω δὲ παρελπίσαν-
των, ἀλλὰ κόσρῳ λέγω καὶ πάντες ἐπιτιμῶσι καὶ
ἡμεῖς συνωστὲ καὶ οὐκ ἀργίζομε. ἐκείνο γὰρ πεπει-
σάτε πρὸς Δημοσθένην συνείσθε ἥδη ταῦτα πάντα
τὰ ταῦτα ὁκνεῖν, ὥστε οὐ θαυμάζετε. διὸ ἐγὼ οἶχ-
οῦμαι, ἀλλ' ἀγανακτῶ καὶ τιμωροῦσθαι, εἰ καὶ τὰ
λοιπὰ τῇ πόλει καλῶς ἔχαι.

145 Δεύτερον δὲ καὶ πολὺ τοῦτου μείζον ἐλέγκμα
ἠδίκησεν, ὅτι τὴν βουλευτήριον τὴν τῆς πόλεως καὶ
τὴν δημοκρατίαν ἄρῃν ἐλάβεν ἐφελοντικῶς καὶ μετ-
έστηκεν εἰς Θῆβας εἰς τὴν Καδμείαν, τὴν κοινω-
νίαν τῶν πράξεων τοῖς Βοιωτάρχαις συνθήματος καὶ
τηλικαύτην αὐτοῖς αὐτῷ δυναστείαν κατεσκεύασεν,
ὥστ' ἥδη παρὶν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα προσβέσειν μὲν εἴη

ἔποι ἂν αὐτῷ δοκῇ, καὶ μὴ ἡμεῖς ἐκπέμπητε, εἰ δέ 146
τις αὐτῷ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἀντίποι, καταδουλοῦμενος
τοῖς ἀρχαῖς καὶ συνεβίζων μηδὲν αὐτῷ ἀντιλέγειν
ἐαδικασίαν εἴη γράφειν τῷ βῆματι πρὸς τὸ στρατή-
γιον· πλεον γὰρ ἡμῶν ἀγαθὰ ἢ ἐαυτοῦ εἴη ἀπὸ
τοῦ βήματος πεποιθῆναι ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἐκ
τοῦ στρατηγίου. μισοφρονῶν δ' ἐν τῷ ξενικῷ κε-
ταῖς χωραῖς, καὶ τὰ στρατιωτικὰ χρήματα κλέπτων
καὶ τοῖς μνησίοις ξένους ἐκμισθώσας Ἀμφιστεῖσι
πολλὰ διαμαρτυρομένου καὶ σχετλιάζοντος ἐν ταῖς
ἐκκλησίαις ἡμῶν, προσέμιξε φέρων ἀναρπασθέντων
τῶν ξένων τὴν κίνδυνον ἀπαρασκεῖν τῇ πόλει. τί 147
γὰρ οὐκ οἶσθε Φίλιππον ἐν ταῖς τότε καιροῖς εἴξα-
σθαι; οὐ χωρὶς μὲν πρὸς τὴν πολιτικὴν εἰρήμιν
χωρὶς δ' ἐν Ἀμφίσσῃ πρὸς τοῖς ξένους εἰσγωνίσα-
σθαι, εὐθιῶς δὲ τοῖς Ἕλληνας λαβῶν τηλικαύτης
πληγῆς προσηρημένης; καὶ τηλικούτων κακῶν αἰ-
τίας προσηρημένης Δημοσθένους οὐκ ἀγαπᾷ εἰ μὴ εἴκην
δίδωκεν, ἀλλ' εἰ μὴ καὶ χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ στεφανω-
θῆσεται ἀγανακτεῖ· οὐδ' ἱκανὸν ἐστὶν αὐτῷ ἐναντίον
ἡμῶν κηρύττεσθαι, ἀλλ' εἰ μὴ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐναν-
τίον ἀναρρηθῆσεται, τοῦτ' ὅδη ἀγανακτεῖ. οὕτως, ὥς
δοκεῖ. ποιητὰ φύσις μερίδης ἐξουσίας ἐπιλαβόμενη
δημοσίας ἀπεργάζεται συμφέρις.

Τρίτον δὲ καὶ τῶν προσηρημένων μέγιστον ἐστὶν 148
ὃ μάλιστ' ἀγανακτῶ. Φίλιππου γὰρ αὐτὸν καταφρονούντος
τῶν Ἑλλήνων, οὐδ' ἀγνοούντος (οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀσίγρετος)
ὅτι παρὰ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἀγαθῶν ἐν ἡμέρας μικρῷ
μῆρει διαφρονεῖται, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα βουλευόμενον ποι-
οῦσθαι τὴν εὐρήμιν καὶ πρεσβείας ἀποστελλεῖν μέλ-

λοῖτος, καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων τῶν ἐν Θήβαις φηζομένων τὸν ἐπίεστα κίευσαν (εἰκότως· οὐ γὰρ βήτωρ ἀστράτευστος καὶ λιπὼν τὴν τάξιν αὐτοῖς ἐνοιθίτησεν, ἀλλ' ὁ Φωκικὸς πόλεμος ἑκαστὸς γενοῖσθαι αἰνιγματοῦς παιδείαν αὐτοῖς ἐπαίδευσεν), τοῦτων δὲ ἔχοντων οὕτως αἰσθημένος Δημοσθένης, καὶ τοῖς Βοιωτάρχαις ὑποπτεύσας μᾶλλον εἰρηνημίαν ποιῆσθαι χρυσίον ἔσθαι αὐτοῦ παρὰ Φιλίππου λαβόντας, ὁβριώτον ἡγήσατο· εἶναι δ' αὖτε τινος ἀπολαφθήσεται δοροδοκίας, ἀναπληρώσας ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, οὐκ ὅτις ἀνθρώπων λέγοιτο οὐθ' ὥς δεῖ ποιῆσθαι πρὸς Φίλιππον εἰρήνην οὐθ' ὥς οὐ δεῖ, ἀλλ' ὥς ᾄδω, τοῦτο κήρυμά τι τοῖς Βοιωτάρχαις προκηρύττων ἀναφέρειν αὐτῷ τὰ μέρη τῶν λεημάτων, διώκοντο τῆς Ἀθηναίων, ὥς ἔοικε, Φειδίας ἀνεργολαβεῖν εἰργασματο καὶ ἐνεπιρκεῖν Δημοσθένει· ἢ μὴν εἰ τις ἔσθαι ὥς χρῆται πρὸς Φίλιππον εἰρήνην ποιῆσθαι ἀπάξιον αἰς τὸ δεσποτικόν ἐπιλαβόμενος τῶν τριχῶν, ἀπορριπόμενος τὴν Κλαυδίους πολιτείαν, ὥς ἐπὶ τῷ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους πόλεμῳ, ὥς λέγεται, τὴν πόλιν ἀπώλεσεν. ὥς δ' οὐ προσεῖχεν αὐτῷ οἱ ἄρχοντες οἱ ἐν ταῖς Θήβαις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις τοῖς ἑμετέροις πάλιν ἀνιστρέψαν ἐξαληλιθότας, ἵνα βουλευσῆσθε περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης, ἐνταῦθα παντάπασιν ἐκφρων ἔμελλετο, καὶ παρελθὼν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα προδίας τῶν Ἑλλήνων τοῖς Βοιωτάρχαις ἀπεκαλίσσε, καὶ γράψαι ἐφ' ὑψηλίσμα ὁ τοῖς πολέμοις οὐδέποτε ἀντιβλέψας πέμπειν ὑμᾶς πρίσθαι εἰς Θήβας αἰτήσοντας Θηβαίους εἰσεῖν ἐπὶ Φίλιππον. ἱπερμασχυνθέντες δὲ οἱ ἐν Θήβαις ἄρχοντες μὴ ἐξέωσιν ὥς

ἀληθῶς εἶναι προδίδται τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς εἰρήνης ἀπετράποντο, ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν παράταξιν ὥρμησαν.

Ἔπειθ' οὖν καὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν ἄξιόν ἐστιν 152 ἐπιμνησθῆναι, οἷς οἷτος ἀθέτων καὶ ἀκαλλιεργήτων ὤτων τῶν ἡρώων ἐκπέμψας ἐπὶ τὸν πρίδηλον κίνδυνον ἐτόλμησε τοῖς ἑραπέταις ποσὶ καὶ λελοιπέσι τὴν τάξιν διαβάς ἐπὶ τὸν τάφον τῶν τετελευτηκότων ἐγκωμιάζειν τὴν ἐκείνων ἀρετήν. ὦ πρὸς μὲν τὰ μεγάλα καὶ σπουδαῖα πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἀχρηστότατε, πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις τέλμαν θαυμασιώτατε, ἐπιχαρήσεις αὐτίκα μῖλα, βλέπων εἰς τὰ τοιούτων πρόσωπα, λέγειν ὥς δεῖ σε ἐπὶ ταῖς τῆς πόλεως συμφοραῖς στεφανοῦσθαι; εἴν δ' οἷτος λέγῃ, ἡμεῖς ὑπομενέετε, καὶ συναποθανεῖται τοῖς τελευτήσασιν, ὥς ἔοικε, καὶ ἡ ἡμετέρα μνήμη; γέ- 153 νεσθε δὲ μοι μικρὸν χρόνον τὴν διανοίαν μὴ ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, καὶ νομίσαν' ὅραν προϊόντα τὸν κήρυκα καὶ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ ψηφίσματος ἀνάρρησιν μέλλουσιν γίγνεσθαι, καὶ λογίσασθε πότῃ οἴεσθε ταῖς οἰκείους τῶν τελευτησάντων πλείω δίκρια ἀφήσειν ἐπὶ ταῖς τραγῳδίαις καὶ τοῖς ἡρωικοῖς πάθεσι τοῖς μετὰ ταῦτ' ἐπαισιοῦσιν ἢ ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς πόλεως ἀγνωμοσίᾳ. τίς γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ἀλγή- 154 σιεν αἰετοπὸς Ἑλλήν καὶ παιδευθεὶς ἐλευθερίως, ἀγαμνησθεὶς ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ ἐκεῖνό γε, εἰ μηδὲν ἕτερον, ὅτι ταύτῃ ποτὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ μάλιστα ὥσπερ νυνὶ τῶν τραγῳδῶν γίγνεσθαι, ὅτ' εἰνομεῖτο μᾶλλον ἢ πόλις καὶ βελτίοσι προστάταις ἐχρήτο, προελθὼν ὁ κήρυξ καὶ παραστησάμενος τοὺς ὄρφανοὺς

ὡν οἱ πατέρες ἦσαν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τετελευτηκότες, νεανίσκους πανοπλίᾳ κέκοσμημένους, ἐκήρυττε τὸ κάλλιστον κέρυγμα καὶ προτρεπτικώτατον πρὸς ἀρετὴν, ὅτι ταῖςδε τοὺς νεανίσκους, ὡν οἱ πατέρες ἐτελεύτησαν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ γενόμενοι, μέχρι μὲν ἤβης ὁ ἄρμος ἔστρεφε, νυνὶ δὲ καθοπλίσας τῆς τῇ πανοπλίᾳ ἀφίησιν ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ τρέπεσθαι
 155 ἐπὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν, καὶ καλεῖ εἰς προεδρίαν. τίτε μὲν ταῖς ἐκήρυττε, ἀλλ' οὐ νῦν, ἀλλὰ παριστῆσάμετος τὸν τῆς ἑρμηνείας τοῖς παισὶν αἴτιον τί ποτ' αἰετῶν ἢ τί φθέγγεται; καὶ γὰρ εἰάν αὐτὰ εὖ ξὺν τὰ ἐκ τοῦ ψηφίσματος προσηγμένα, ἀλλ' οἱ τό γ' ἐκ τῆς ἀληθείας αἰσχρὸν σιωπηθήσεται ἀλλὰ τῶπιται δίδει τῇ τοῦ κήρυκος φωνῇ φθέγγεσθαι, ὅτι τίς τὸν ἄνδρα, εἰ εἴ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀνὴρ, στεφανοῖ ὁ ἄρμος τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα τὴν κείνου, καὶ ἀνδραγαθίας ἔνεκα τὴν ἀνδρείαν καὶ λεοντείαν τὴν
 156 τάξιν, μὴ πρὸς τοῦ Διὸς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν, ἰκετεύω ἡμεῖς, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, μὴ τρίπαιον ἴστατε ἡμῶν αἰτῶν ἐν τῇ τοῦ Διοτίσου ἐρχίστῃ. μὴδ' αἵρετε παλαιὰς διατίνας τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὴν ἑμὴν τῶν Ἀθηναίων, μὴδ' ἐπεμνήσκετε τῶν αἰετῶν καὶ ἀνηκίστων κακῶν τοῖς ταλαπύρους Θεβαίους, οὓς φυγόντας διὰ τούτων ὑποδ' ἔλαθε τῇ πόλει, ἂν ἱερὰ καὶ τέκνα καὶ τάφους ἀπαλεσιν ἢ Δημοσθένους
 157 δωροδοκία καὶ τὸ βασιλικὸν χρυσίον· ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τοῖς σώμασιν οὐ παρτίγεσθε, ἀλλὰ ταῖς γε διανοίαις ἀπορρίψατ' αἰτῶν εἰς τὰς συμμάχους, καὶ νομίσαθ' ἑρῶν ἀλυσκομένην τὴν πόλιν, ταχρὺν κατασκαφῆς, ἐμπρήσεις οἰκῶν, ἀγορίας γυναῖκας,

καὶ παῖδας εἰς δουλείαν, προσβίτας ἀνθρώπους, προσβίτας γυναῖκας, ὅφρ' μεταμανθάνοντας τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, κλαίοντας, ἰκετεύοντας ἡμᾶς, ἐργαζόμενους οὐ τοῖς τιμωρομένοις ἀλλὰ τοῖς τούτων αἰτίαις, ἐπισκῆπτοντας μηδὲν τρίπαιον τὸν τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀλιτίριον στεφανοῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν λαόν, α καὶ τὴν πόλιν τὴν συμπαρακολουθοῦσαν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ φυλάσσειν. οὔτε πέλις γάρ οὔτ' ἰδιώτης
 158 ἀνὴρ οὐδὲς πώποτε καλῶς ἀπήλλαξε Δημοσθένει συμβούλῳ χρησόμενος. ἡμεῖς δ', ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, οὐκ ἀλσχύνεσθαι ἐπὶ μὲν ταῖς παλαιαῖς τοῖς εἰς Σαλαμίνα πορθούμεντας νόμον ἔθεσθε, εἰν τις αἰτῶν ἄκων ἐν τῷ πόρῳ πλοῖον ἀνατρέψῃ, τοῖς μὴ ἰξάναι πάλιν πορθμεῖ γινέσθαι, ἵνα μηδὲς αἰτοσχευδιᾷ εἰς τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων σώματα, τὸν δὲ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἄρῃν ἀνατετροφύτα, τοῖτον εἴσατε πάλιν ἐπειθεῖν τὸ κοινά;

Ἴσα δ' εἶπω καὶ περὶ τοῦ τετάρτου καιροῦ καὶ
 159 τῶν ἐν τῇ καθ' ἑαυτῶν πραγμάτων, ἐκείνῳ ἡμᾶς ὑπομῆσαι βούλεμαι. ἵτι Δημοσθένης οὐ τὴν ἀπὸ στρατοπέδου μόνου τάξιν ἔλιπεν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως... τριήρη προσλαβὼν ἡμῶν, καὶ τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἡργυρολόγησε. καταγαγούσης δ' αἰτῶν εἰς τὴν πόλιν τῆς ἀπρσιδοκίτου σωτηρίας τοὺς μὲν πρώτους χρύσους ἐπύτρεμος ἦν ἄνθρωπος, καὶ παρὶν ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα εἰρηνοφύλακα ἡμῶς αὐτὸν ἐκείλινε χειροτονεῖν ἡμεῖς δὲ [κατὰ μὲν τοῖς πρώτους χρύσους] οἶδ' ἐπὶ τὸ ψηφίσματα εἴατε τὸ Δημοσθένους ἐπιγράψαι ὄνομα, ἀλλὰ Ναυσικλεῖ ταῦτο προσετάττετε· νυνὶ δ' ἔξῃ καὶ στεφανοῖσθαι

150 ἀξιοῖ. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐτελεύτησε μὲν Φίλιππος, Ἀλέξαν-
δρος δ' εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν κατέστη. πάλιν αὖ τερατιόμε-
νος ἰσθ' μὲν ἰδρίσατο Πανταίνου, εἰς αἰτίαν δὲ εἰσαγ-
γελίων θυσίας τὴν βουλὴν κατέστησεν, ἐπωνυμίαν
δ' Ἀλεξάνδρῳ Μαργίτην ἐτίθετο, ἀπετέλμα δὲ
λέγειν ὥς οὐ κινήσεται ἐκ Μακεδονίας· ἀγαπῶν
γὰρ αὐτὸν ἔφη ἐν Πέλλῃ περιπατοῦντα καὶ τὰ
σπλάγχνα φυλάττοντα. καὶ ταῦτα λέγειν ἔφη οἱ
εἰκάζον, ἀλλ' ἀκριβῶς εἰδὼς ἔτι αἵματος ἔστιν ἡ
ἀρετὴ αὐτοῦ, αὐτὸς οἱ ἔχων αἷμα καὶ θεωρῶν τὸν
Ἀλεξάνδρον οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου φύσεως ἀλλ'
161 ἐκ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἀνανδρίας. ἦδη δ' ἐφηφισμένων
Θετταλῶν ἐπιστρατεύειν ἐπὶ τὴν ἑμετέραν πόλιν,
καὶ τοῦ γεγενημένου τὸ πρῶτον παροξυνθέντος εἰσέ-
τως, ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπεὶ Θήβας ἦν τὸ στρατιώτῃν, πρε-
σβευτὴς ἰφ' ἑμῶν χειροτονηθείς, ἀποδρῶς ἐκ μέσων
τοῦ Κιθαιρώτος ἦκεν ὑποστρίψας, οἷτ' ἐν ὄρεϊ
οὔτ' ἐν πάλμῳ χρήσιμον ἑαυτὸν παρέχον. καὶ τὸ
πάντων δεινέτατον, ἑμῖς μὲν τοῦτον οὐ προΐεσθαι,
οἷδ' εἰλάσατε κριθῆναι ἐν τῷ τῶν Ἑλλήνων συνεδρίῳ,
οἷτος δ' ἑμῖς νῦν προΐδωκεν, ἔπερ ἀληθὴ ἔστιν ἢ
162 λέγεται. ὥς γὰρ φασιν οἱ Πάραλοι καὶ οἱ πρεσβεύ-
σαντες πρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρον (καὶ τὸ πρῶτον εἰσώτως
πιστεύεται), ἔστι τις Ἀριστίων Πλαταῖκός, ὁ τοῦ
Ἀριστοβάλου τοῦ φαρμακοπόλου υἱός, εἴ τις ἄρα
καὶ ἑμῶν γινώσκει. οὔτις ποτε ὁ γεγενημένος ἐτέρου
τὴν ὕψιν διαφέρων (γεγενημένος) ἔκρησε πολὺν χρόνον
ἐν τῇ Δημοσθένους οἰκίᾳ· ὃ τι δὲ πρίττων ἢ πά-
σχων, ἀμφύβολος ἡ αἰτία καὶ τὸ πρῶτον οἷδαμῶς
εἰσχημον ἑμοὶ λέγειν. οὔτος, ὥς ἐγὼ ἀκούω, ἡγνο-

ἡμίος ὅστις ποτ' ἔστι καὶ πῶς βεβιωκός, τὸν
Ἀλεξάνδρον ὑποτρέχει καὶ πλησιάζει ἐκείνῳ. διὰ
τοῦτου γράμματα πέμψας ὥς Ἀλεξάνδρον ἄδειάν
τινα ἔρηται καὶ διαλλαγῆς καὶ πολλὴν κολακείαν
πεποιηται. ἐκείθεν δὲ θεωρήσατε ὥς ὅμοιον ἔστι 163
τὸ πρῶτον τῇ αἰτίᾳ. εἰ γὰρ τι τοῦτων ἐφρόνει
Δημοσθένης καὶ πολεμικῶς εἶχεν, ὥσπερ καὶ φησί,
πρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρον, τρεῖς αὐτῷ καιροὶ κάλλιστοι
ἐπὶ παραγεγῆσιν, ἂν οἷδεν φαίνεται κεχρημένος. εἰς
μὲν ὁ πρῶτος, ὅτ' εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐ πάλαι καθιστη-
κός Ἀλεξάνδρος ἀπαρασκευῶν αὐτῷ τῶν ἰδίων
ἄντων εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν διέβη, ἵκμαζε δ' ὁ τῶν Περ-
σῶν βασιλεὺς καὶ ναυσὶ καὶ χρήμασι καὶ πεζῇ
στρατιᾷ, ἄσματος ὅτ' ἂν ἑμῖς εἰς τὴν συμμαχίαν
προσέδωκεν διὰ τοῖς ἐπιφρομένους· αὐτῷ κινδύ-
νους. εἰπὺς τινα ἐνταῦθα λόγον, Δημόσθενες, ἢ
ἔγραψας τι ψήφισμα; βούλει σε θῶ φοβηθῆναι
καὶ χρήσασθαι τῷ σπανοῦ τρέπῳ; καίτοι ῥητορικὴν
δειλίαν ἐρημίσως καιρὸς οἱ ἀναμένει· ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ δὲ 164
πίσση τῇ θυμῷ Δαρείος κατεβεβήκει, ὁ δ' Ἀλέξ-
ανδρος ἦν ἀπειλημένος ἐν Κιλικίᾳ πάντων ἐνδεής,
ὥς ἔφησθα σύ, αὐτίκα μάλα δ' ἤμελλεν, ὥς ἦν ὁ
παρὰ σοῦ λόγος, συμπατηθῆσθαι ὑπὸ τῆς Περσι-
κῆς ἵππου, τὴν δὲ σὴν ἀγέλαν ἢ πόλιν οἱ ἔχρει
καὶ τὰς ἐπιστολὰς ὥς ἐξηρητημένος ἐκ τῶν δακτύλων
περίηκας, ἐπίδωκόντων τισὶ τὸ ἑμὲν πρόσωπον ὥς
ἐκπεπληγμένου καὶ ἀθυμοῦντος, καὶ χρυσόκερων
ἀποκαλῶν καὶ κατεστέφθαι φάσκων εἴ τι πταῖσμα
συμβήσεται Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, οἷδ' ἐνταῦθα ἔπραξας
οἷδεν, ἀλλ' εἰς τινα καιρὸν ἀνεβάλλου καλλίω.

165 ἑπερβὰς τοῖνυν ἅπαντα ταῦτα ὑπὲρ τῶν νυνὶ καθε-
στηκότων λέξω. Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν καὶ τὸ ξηκὸν
ἐπέτυχον μίχῃ καὶ εὐφραδίᾳ τις περὶ Κόρινθον
στρατιώτας. Ἡμίῳ δ' αὐτοῖς συμμετεβάλλοντο καὶ
Ἀχαιοὶ πάντες πλὴν Πελλῆνων καὶ Ἀρκάδων
πᾶσα πλὴν Μεγίλης πέλειος, αὕτη δὲ ἐπελορακίῳ
καὶ καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἐπιδόξας ἦν ἀλῶναι, ὃ δ'
Ἀλκιωνίδης ἔξω τῆς ἑρκτοῦ καὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης
ἐλίου δὲ πύσης μελιστήκει, ὃ δὲ Ἀντίπατρος
πολὺν χρόνον συνῆγε στρατιώτας, τὸ δ' ἐσόμενον
αἶηλον ἦν. ἐνταῦθ' ἡμῶν ἀποδοῖν ποίηται, Δι-
μόσθεος, τί ποτ' ἦν ἢ ἐπράξας ἢ τί ποτ' ἦν ἢ
ἔλεγες· καὶ εἰ βούλει, παρὶχωρὸς σου τοῦ βήματος.
166 ἕως ἂν εἴπῃς. ἐπειδὴ δὲ σιγῆς, ἔτι μὲν ἀπορῶς,
συγγνώμην ἔχω σοι, ἢ δὲ τότε ἔλεγες, ἐγὼ νῦν λέξω.
οὐ μέμνησθε αὐτοῦ τὰ μιὰ καὶ ἀπίθανα ῥήματα,
ἢ πῶς ποθ' ὑμεῖς ὧ σιδήρει ἐκαρτερεῖτε ἀκρω-
μένοι; ὅτ' εἴη παρὰ τὴν "ἀμπελοργουσί τις
τὴν πόλιν," "ἀνιτεταρκασί τις τὰ ῥήματα τοῦ
δήμου," "ὑποτέτμηται τὰ νῦν τῶν πραγμάτων,"
"φορμωραφοῦνθα," "ἐπὶ τὰ στενὰ τις ἄσπερ τις
167 βελόνας διένυσται." ταῦτα δὲ τί ἐστίν, ὦ κινάλοι;
ῥήματα ἢ θαύματα; καὶ πάλιν ὅτε κίελοι περιδαιτῶν
σεαυτῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος ἔλεγες ὡς ἀντιπράττων
Ἀλκιωνίδῳ "ἡμολογῶ τὰ Λακωνικὰ συστήσαι,
ἡμολογῶ Θετταλὰς καὶ Περγαίους ἀφίστάναι."
σὺ γὰρ ἂν κέρην ἀποστήσεις; σὺ γὰρ ἂν προσέλ-
θαις μὴ ὅτι πρὸς πόλιν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς οἰκίαν ὅπου
κίελος πρόσεστιν; ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν που χρήματα
ἀναλίσκεται, πρὸς καθαρίζῃ, πρᾶξιν δὲ αἰετὶς οἱ

πράξεις· εἰ δ' αὐτόματόν τι συμβῇ, προσποιήσῃ
καὶ σπαντὸν ἐπὶ τῷ γεγενημένῳ ἐπιγράψεις· εἰ δ'
ἐλθῇ φόβος τις, ἀπαθράσῃ· εἰ δὲ θαρρήσωμεν,
ἐσθλὰς αἰτήσεις καὶ χρυσοῖς στεφάνοις στεφανού-
σθαι.

Ναί, ἀλλὰ δημοτικὸς ἐστίν. εἰ μὲν τοῖνυν πρὸς 168
τὴν εὐφροσύνην τῶν λόγων αὐτοῦ ἀποβλέπητε, ἐξαπα-
τηθήσεσθε ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον· εἰ δ' εἰς τὴν φύσιν
καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν, οὐκ ἐξαπατηθήσεσθε. ἐκείνως δὲ
ἀπολάβετε παρ' αὐτοῦ τὸν λόγον. ἐγὼ μὲν μεθ'
ἡμῶν λομοῦμαι ἢ δεῖ ὑπάρχειν ἐν τῇ φύσει τῷ
δημοτικῷ ἀνδρὶ καὶ σόφρονι, καὶ πάλιν ἀντιθήσω
ποῖόν τινα εἰεῖς ἐστίν· εἰ μὲν τὸν ὀλιγαρχικὸν ἀνθρω-
πον καὶ φαῖλον· ὑμεῖς δ' αἰ τιθέντες ἐκάτερα τούτων
θεωρήσατ' αὐτῶν, μὴ ὑποτέρου τοῦ λόγου ἀλλ' ὑπο-
τέρου τοῦ βίου ἐστίν. οἶμαι τοῖνυν ἅπαντας ἂν 169
ἡμολογήσαι ὑμᾶς τὸδε δεῖν ὑπάρχειν τῷ δημοτικῷ,
πρῶτον μὲν ἐλευθερίαν αὐτῶν εἶναι καὶ πρὸς πατρός
καὶ πρὸς μητρός, ἵνα μὴ διὰ τὴν περὶ τὸ φόβος ἀτυ-
χίαν δυσμενείῃς ἢ τοῖς νόμοις οἱ σώζουσι τὴν δημο-
κρατίαν, δεύτερον δ' ἀπὸ τῶν προγόνων εὐεργεσίαν
τινὰ αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ὑπάρχειν, ἢ τὸ γ' ἀναγ-
καϊότατον μηδεμίαν ἔχθραν, ἵνα μὴ βοηθῶν τοῖς τῶν
προγόνων ἀτυχήμασι κακῶς ἐπιχειρῇ ποιεῖν τὴν
πόλιν. τρίτον σώφρανα καὶ μέτριον χρὴ πεφυκέναι 170
αὐτῶν πρὸς τὴν καθ' ἡμέραν διαίταν, ὥπως μὴ διὰ
τὴν ἀσέλγειαν τῆς διαπόνης δωροδοκῇ κατὰ τοῦ δή-
μου, τέταρτον εὐγνώμονα καὶ δυνατόν εἰπῶν καλὸν
γὰρ τὴν μὲν διάνοιαν προαιρεῖσθαι τὰ βέλτιστα, τὴν
δὲ παιδείαν τὴν τοῦ ῥήτορος καὶ τὸν λόγον πείθειν

τοὺς ἀκούοντας· εἰ δὲ μή, τὴν γ' εὐγνωμοσύνην δεῖ προτακτέον τοῦ λόγου. πέμπτον ἀνδρείου εἶναι τὴν ψυχὴν, ἵνα μὴ παρὰ τὰ δεινὰ καὶ τοῖς πολέμοις ἑγκαταλείπη τὸν δῆμον. τὸν δ' ἐλιγαρχικὸν πάντα δεῖ τὰναντία τούτων ἔχειν· τί γὰρ δεῖ πάλιν διεξιέναι; σκέψασθε δὴ τί τούτων ἐπάρχει Δημοσθένει· ὁ δὲ λογισμὸς ἔστω ἐπὶ πᾶσι δικάσις.

- 171 Τοῦτ' οὖν πατήρ μιν ἦν Δημοσθένης ὁ Παιανιεύς, ἀνὴρ ἐλεύθερος· οἱ γὰρ δεῖ ψεῖδεσθαι τὰ δ' ἀπὸ τῆς μητρὸς καὶ τοῦ πάππου τοῦ πρὸς μητρὸς πᾶς ἔχει αὐτῷ· ἐγὼ φράτω. Γίλων ἦν ἐκ Κεραμίων, οὗτος προδοὺς τοῖς πολέμοις Νίμφαιον τὸ ἐν τῷ Πύντῳ, τότε τῆς πόλεως ἐχρήσθη τὸ χωρίον τοῦτο, φυγὰς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐγένετο θανάτου καταγιωσθέντος αὐτοῦ, τὴν κρίσιν οὐχ ὑπομείνας, καὶ ἀφικνεῖται εἰς Βόσπορον, κίχλιν λαμβάνει δωρεάν παρὰ
172 τῶν τυράννων τοῖς ἀναρασμένοις Κήπους, καὶ γαμῶν γυναικὰ πλουσίαν μὲν τῇ Δίᾳ καὶ χρυσίον ἐπιφεραμένην πολὺ, Σκίθην δὲ τὸ γένος, ἐξ ἧς γίγνεται αὐτῷ νεωτέρης υἱοῦ, ὃς ἐκείνους ἔειπε μετὰ πολλῶν χρημάτων στείλας συνήκισε τὴν μὲν ἑτέραν ὑπερδύποτε, ἵνα μὴ πολλοῖς ἀπεχθάνομαι· τὴν δ' ἑτέραν ἔφημε παρὶ τῶν τοῖς τῆς πόλεως νόμους Δημοσθένης ὁ Παιανιεύς, ἐξ ἧς ὑμῖν ὁ περίεργος καὶ συκοφάντης Δημοσθένης γέγνηται. οἰκοῦν ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ πάππου [τοῦ πρὸς μητρὸς] πολέμιος ἂν εἴη τῷ δήμῳ (θάνατον γὰρ αὐτοῦ τῶν προγόνων κατέγνωτε), τὰ δ' ἀπὸ τῆς μητρὸς Σκίθης, βάρβαρος ἑλληρίζον τῇ φύσιν. ἔδει
173 καὶ τὴν πονηρίαν οὐκ ἐπιχρήσιον εἶναι. Περὶ δὲ τὴν καθ' ἡμέραν δίαιταν τίς ἐστίν; ἐκ τριηράρχου λογο-

γράφος ἀνεφάνη, τὰ πατρῷα καταγελάστως προέμενος· ἄπιστος δὲ καὶ περὶ ταῦτα δόξας εἶναι καὶ τοὺς λόγους ἐκφέρων τοῖς ἀντιδίκους ἀνεπήδησεν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα· πλείστον δ' ἐκ τῆς πόλεως εἰληφὼς ἀργύριον ἐλάχιστα περιποιήσατο. τῶν μέντοι τὸ βασιλικὸν χρυσίου ἐπικέκλυκε τὴν δαπάνην αὐτοῦ, ἵσται δ' οἷδε τοῖθ' ἱκανῶν οἷδεῖς γὰρ πάποτε πλοῦτος τρόπου πονηροῦ περιγέμετο. καὶ τὸ κεφάλαιον, τὸν βίον οὐκ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων προσόδων πορίζεται ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν ὑμετέρων κινδύνων. περὶ δ' εὐγνωμοσύνην καὶ
174 λόγου ἐλάμιν πᾶς πέφυκε; δεινὸς λέγειν, κακὸς βιάσθαι. οὕτω γὰρ κέχρηται καὶ τῷ ἑαυτοῦ σώματι καὶ παιδοποιῇ, ὥστ' ἐμὲ μὴ βοῦλεσθαι λέγειν ἢ τοῦτ' ἐπέπρακται· ἤδη γὰρ ποτε εἶδον μισηθέντας τοῖς τὰ τῶν πλησίων αἰσχυρὰ λίαν σαφῶς λέγοντας. ἔπειτα τί συμβαίνει τῇ πόλει; οἱ μὲν λόγοι καλοί, τὰ δ' ἔργα φαῦλα. πρὸς δὲ ἀνδρίαν βραχὺς μοι λεί-
175 πεται λόγος. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἠρεῖτο μὴ δειλὸς εἶναι ἢ ὑμῖν μὴ σιγῆτε, διατριβὴν ὁ λόγος ἂν μοι παρήσχευ· ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁμολογῇ ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις καὶ ὑμῖν σέπτετε, λοιπὸν ὑπομῆσαι τοῖς περὶ τούτων κειμένους νόμους. ὁ γὰρ Σόλων ὁ παλαιὸς νομοθέτης ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐπιτιμίοις φέτο δαίνεσθαι τὸν ἀστράτευτον καὶ τὸν λιλοῖπότεν τὴν τάξιν καὶ τὸν δειλὸν ὁμοίως· εἰς γὰρ καὶ δειλίας γραφαί. καίτοι θαυμάσειεν ἂν τις ὑμῶν εἰ εἰς φέσεως γραφαί. εἰσὶν. τίτος ἕκαστος; ὡς ἕκαστος ὑμῶν τὰς ἐκ τῶν νόμων ζημίας φοβούμενος μᾶλλον
176 τῇ ἢ τοῖς πολέμοις ἀμείνων ἀγωνιστῆς ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ὑπάρχει. ὁ μὲν τοίνυν νομοθέτης· τὸν ἀστρά-

τευτον καὶ τὴν ἐλπίαν καὶ τὸν λιπώντα τὴν τάξιν ἐξω
τῶν περιπρατηρίων τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐξέρχεται, καὶ οὐκ
ἐῖ στεφανοῦσθαι οἷδ' εἰσιέναι εἰς τὰ ἱερὰ τὰ ἐρη-
τοῖλ' σὶ δὲ τῶν ἀστεφάνωτον ἐκ τῶν νόμων κολούεις
ἡμῶς στεφανοῦν, καὶ τῷ στυτοῦ ψηφίσματι τὸν οὐ
προσέκοντα εἰσκαλεῖς τοῖς τραγητοῖς εἰς τὴν ἀρχή-
στραν, εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Διουῖσιν τὴν τὰ ἱερὰ διὰ
ἐλπίαν προδεδωκότα.

Ἴνα δὲ μὴ ἀποπλανῶ ἡμῶς ὑπὸ τῆς ἐπιλοπτεως,
ἀκούω μέμνησθε ὅταν φῇ δημοσιὰς εἶναι. θεωρεῖτ'
αὐτοῦ μὴ τὴν λόγῳ ἀλλὰ τὸν βίον, καὶ σκοπεῖτε μὴ
τίς φησιν εἶναι ἀλλὰ τίς ἐστίν.

177 Ἐπεὶ δὲ στεφάνῳ ἀνμνήσθην καὶ δωρεῶν, ὅς
ἐτι μέμνημαι, προλέγω ὑμῖν, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, εἰ μὴ
καταλίσετε τὸς ἀφύθους ταύτας δωρεὰς καὶ τοῖς
εἰκὲ ἐιδόμενους στεφάνους, οὐδ' οἱ τιμώμενοι χάρεαι
ὑμῖν εἰσονται αὐτὲ τὰ τῆς πόλεως πρήγματα ἐπα-
νωθῆσεται τοῖς μὲν γὰρ πανηροῖς οὐ μὴ ποτε
βελτίους ποιήσετε, τοὺς δὲ χρηστοῖς εἰς τὴν ἐσχά-
την ἐνμίαν ἐμβαλεῖτε. ὅτι δ' ἀληθὴ λόγῳ, μεγάλα
178 ταύτων οἶμαι σημεῖα δείξειν ὑμῖν. εἰ γὰρ τις ἡμῶς
ἐροτῆσειε πότερον ὑμῖν ἐνδοξότερα δοκεῖ ἢ πάλαι
εἶναι ἐπὶ τῶν γενεῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων,
ἅπαντες ὡς ἐμολογῆσθε, ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων, αἰετες
εἰ πότερον τότε ἀμείνους ἦσαν ἢ νυνί; τότε μὲν
διαφύλακτες, νυνὶ δὲ πολλῶν καταδύστεροι. δωρεὰ
δὲ καὶ στεφάνοι καὶ κηρίγματα καὶ σιτήσις ἐν πρυ-
τανεῖοι πότερον τότε ἦσαν πλείους ἢ νυνί; τότε μὲν
ὡς σπάνια τὰ καλά παρ' ὑμῖν καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς
ἔνομα τίμιον νυνὶ δ' ἤδη καταπέπλεται τὸ πρῶγμα,

καὶ τὸ στεφανοῦν ἐξ ἑδους ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκ προτάας
ποιεῖσθαι. οὐκ οὖν ὅστις οὐτως ἐμολογῆσθαι 179
τὰς μὲν δωρεὰς νυνὶ πλείους εἶναι, τὰ δὲ πρῶγματα
τῆς πόλεως τότε μᾶλλον ἢ νυνὶ ἐσχατεῖν, καὶ τοῖς
ἀνδρῶν νυνὶ μὲν χείρους εἶναι, τότε δ' ἀμείνους; ἐγὼ
ἰδὼ τοῦθ' ὑμῶς ἐπιχειρήσω δεδασκῆναι. ὅστις ἂν ποτε
ὡς Ἀθηναῖοι ἐμολογῆσθαι ἐπασκῶν εἰς τὰ Ὀλύμπια
ἢ εἰς ἄλλον τινὰ τῶν στεφανιτῶν ἀγῶνων παρη-
τισθῇ ἢ καὶ ἄλλο τι τῶν βαρυτέρων ἀθλῶν, εἰ δὲ στε-
φανὸς ἐδόδοτο μὴ τῷ κρατίστῳ ἀλλὰ τῷ διαπραξ-
ιμένῳ; οὐδέ τις ἂν ποτ' ἡθελήσεν ἐπασκῶν. οὐδ' οἱ 180
μὴ ἐπὶ τῷ σπάνιῳ καὶ τῷ περιμύχῳ καὶ τῷ καλῷ
καὶ τῷ ἀνμνήσθῳ ἐκ τῆς νέκης ἐβδλουσέ τις τὴν
πρῶτα παρηκαταθέμενοι καὶ τὰς μεγίστας ταλαι-
πωρίας ὑπομεινόντες διακινδυνώσεν ὑπολῶνται
τοῖσι ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς εἶναι ἀγωνιστέας πολιτικῆς ἀρε-
τῆς, καὶ οὐκ ἐμολογῆσθαι, ὅτι ὡς μὲν τοῖς δωρεῶν
ἐλπίαι καὶ ἀξίαι καὶ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους διέτεται,
πολλὰς ἀγωνιστάς εἶναι τῆς ἀρετῆς, εἰ μὴ τὸ
ἐμολογῆσθαι καὶ τὸ διαπραξίμεναι χαρίζεσθαι, καὶ
τὸ ἐπιμύχῳ φέρεται δομολογεῖται. Ὅτι δ' ἡμῶς 181
λέγω, ἐτι μικρὸν σφύρομαι ὑμῶς βοήλομαι ἐμολο-
γεῖσθαι ὑμῖν ἀμείνους ἀπὸ εἶναι ἀρετῆς ἐμολογῆσθαι
ὅτι στρατηγὸς ὅτι τῇ Σαλαμῇ ναυμαχίᾳ τῶν Περ-
σῶν ὑμῶν ἢ Δημοσθένους ὁ τὴν τῆς πόλεως
ἀντιτάξας ὅτι ὁ τῇ ἐν Μαραθῶνι μέγαν τοῖς Περ-
σῶν νικητὴς, ἢ αὐτὸς; ὅτι δ' οἱ ἀπὸ Ὀλοῦ φε-
ρωτὰ τῶν ἡμῶν καταγαγόντες; Ἀριστοῦ, ἢ ὁ
ἐκείνου, ὁ τῇ τῆς πόλεως ἔχον ἐπισημῶν Διο-
κλῆς, ἀλλ' ἔγωγε μὴ τοὺς θεοὺς τοῖς Ὀλύμπιαι 182

- οἷδ' ἐν ταῖς αἰταῖς ἡμέραις ὄξυν ἰγούμαι μενέ-
σθαι τοῦ θηρίου τούτου καὶ ἐκείνων τῶν ἀνδρῶν.
ἐπιδειξάτω τοῖνυν Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ λόγῳ εἰ
πau γέγραπται τινι τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων στι βανῶσαι.
ἀχίριστος ἄρ' ἔν ὁ δῆμος; οὐκ, ἀλλὰ, μεγαλοφρων.
καὶ ἐκεῖνοί γε οἱ μὴ τετιμημένοι τῆς πώλεως ὄξιοι· αἱ
γὰρ φονταῖν ἐν τοῖς ὅρμημασι τιμῶσθαι ἄλλ' ἐν τῇ
μνήμῃ τῶν εἰς πεποιθέτων, ἢ ἀπ' ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου
μέχρι τῆςδε τῆς ἡμέρας ἀθάνατος αὖσα διαμένει. δω-
ρεὺς δὲ τίνας δαίμνας; ὧν ὄξιν ὅστις μνησθῆναι.
- 183 Ἦσαν τίτες κατὰ τοὺς τότε καιροὺς οἱ πολὺν
πόνον ὑπομνῶντες καὶ μεγάλους κινδύνους ἐπὶ τῷ
Στρυμόνῃ ποταμῷ ἐνίκων μαχόμενοι Μήδους· αἱταὶ
δαῖρον ἀφικόμενοι πᾶν ἔησαν ἤτησαν δωρεῖάν, καὶ
ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ὁ δῆμος τιμῆς μεγάλας, ὥς τιτ' ἐδόκει,
τρῖς λίτραις Ἑρμῆς στῆσαι ἐν τῇ στοῇ τῇ τῶν
Ἑρμῶν. ἐξ ὅτε μὴ ἐπιγράφειν τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν
ἐαυτῶν. ἵνα μὴ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἀλλὰ τῶν ὄμων
- 184 δοκῇ εἶναι τὸ ἐπιγρᾶμμα. Ὅτι δ' ἀληθὴ λέγω, ἐξ
αὐτῶν τῶν ποιημάτων εἰσεσθε. ἐπιγράφεται γὰρ
ἐπὶ τῷ μὲν πρώτῳ τῶν Ἑρμῶν

ἦν ὅρα καὶ ἐκεῖσε ταλασάρδισι, οἱ πατέρι δαῖρον
παῖτι ἐπ' Ἥρῳ. Στρυμόνους ἀμφὶ ῥοῖσι,
ἀρ' ἐν τ' αἴθρῃ κρατεῖν τ' ἐπ' ὄχρῳτες Ἄρῃ
παῖσι δασμεῖων εἶρον ἀνελκίσθαι.

ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ δευτέρῳ

ἦν ὅρα καὶ ἐκεῖσε ταλασάρδισι, οἱ πατέρι δαῖρον
παῖτι ἐπ' Ἥρῳ. Στρυμόνους ἀμφὶ ῥοῖσι,
ἀρ' ἐν τ' αἴθρῃ κρατεῖν τ' ἐπ' ὄχρῳτες Ἄρῃ
παῖσι δασμεῖων εἶρον ἀνελκίσθαι.

- ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ ἐπιγράφεται Ἑρμῇ 185
ἐκ ποτε τῆςδε πόλεως ἄμ' Ἀτρεΐδῃσι Μενεσθεῖς
ἠγάτο ζῴων Τρωικὸν ἄμ' πεδῶν,
ὧν πατ' Ὀμήρος ἔφη Δαναῶν πῖκα χαλκοχιτόνων
κασμετῆρα μόχης ἔξοχον αἶδρα μελέει,
ὅστις οἶδεν αἰεὶς Ἀθηναῖσι καλεῖσθαι
κασμετῆρας πολέμου τ' ἀμφὶ καὶ ἡμετέρας.

ἔστι πον τὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν ὄνομα; οἷσαμοθ, ἄλλαι
τὸ τοῦ δῆμου.

Προσέλθετε ἐν τῇ διανοίᾳ καὶ εἰς τὴν στοῦν τὴν 186
ποικίλῃ· ἀπλήτων γὰρ ἱμῶν τῶν καλῶν ἔργων τὰ
ἐπομνηματὰ ἐν τῇ ἀγορῇ ἀνάκειται. τί οὖν ἔστιν,
ὦ Ἀθηναῖσι, ὃ ἐγὼ λέγω; ἐνταῦθα ἢ ἐν Μαραθῶνι
μύχῃ γέγραπται. τίς οὖν ἦν ὁ στρατηγός; οὕτωσιν
μὲν ἐρωτηθέντες ἅπαντες ἀποκρίναισθε ἂν ὅτι Μιλ-
τιάδης. ἐκεῖ δὲ οὐκ ἐπιγράφεται. πῶς; οὐκ ἤτησε
τὴν δωρεάν ταύτην; ἤτησεν, ἀλλ' ὁ δῆμος οὐκ ἔδω-
κεν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀνόματος συνεχόρησεν αὐτῷ
πρῶτον γραφῆναι, παρακαλοῦντι τοῖς στρατιώταις.
ἐν τοῖνυν τῷ μνημῶνι παρὶ τὸ βουλευτήριον, ἢ 187
ἔσπετο δωρεάν τοῖς ἀπὸ Φυλῆς φερόντα τὸν ἔημον
καταγαγόντων, ἔστιν ἰδεῖν. ἦν μὲν γὰρ ὁ τὸ ψή-
φισμα γράψας καὶ περὶ τὰς Ἀρχαῖος ἢ ἐκ Κοίλης,
εἰς τῶν καταγαγόντων τὸν ἔημον. ἔγραψε δὲ πρῶτον
μὲν αὐτοῖς εἰς θεσίαν καὶ ἀναθήματα δοῦναι χιλίας
δραχμῶν (καὶ τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ἑλαττον ἢ δέκα δραχμαὶ
κατ' αἶδρα ἕκαστον). ἔπειτα κελεύει στεφανοῦσθαι
βαλλοῦ στεφάνῳ αὐτῶν ἕκαστον, ἀλλ' οὐ χρυσῷ
τότε μὲν γὰρ ἦν ὁ τοῦ θαλλοῦ στέφανος τίμιος, νυνὶ
δὲ καὶ ὁ χρυσοῦς καταπεφρόνηται. καὶ οἷε τοῦτο

εἰκὴ πράξει κελεῖν, ἀλλ' ἀκριβοῦς τὴν βολὴν
σκεψαμένην ὅσοι αἰτῶν ἐπὶ Φιλῆς ἐπελαορέθησαν,
ὅτε Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ τρηικοντα προσήβαλλον
τοῖς καταλαβούσι Φιλῆν, οἳ χ' ὅσοι τὸν τάξιν Διπτε-
113 ρον Χαιρωνίᾳ τῶν πολεμίων ἐπαινοῦν. Ὅτι δ'
ἀληθὲς λέγω, ἀναγνώσεται ἡμῖν τὸ ψήφισμα.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ ΠΕΡΙ ΔΩΡΕΙΑΣ ΤΟΙΣ ΛΗΘ- ΦΤΑΙΗΣ.

Παρανοήσασθε καὶ ὁ γεγραφε Κτησιφῶν Δῆμο-
σύνει τῇ τῶν μεγίστων κακῶν αἰτίᾳ.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

Τούτῳ τῷ ψήφισματι ἐξαλείφεται ἡ τῶν κατα-
114 γνήτων τῶν δῆμον ἑαυτοῦ. εἰ τοῦτ' ἔχει καλῶς
ἐκεῖνο ἀσχεδὸς· εἰ δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν ἀσχεδόν, οὗτος ἀνάξιος ἐστὶ στεφανώσθαι.

115 Καίτοι πυνθισμαὶ ὧ ἀντὶν μελλοῦσι λέγεσθαι
ὡς δίκαια ποιοῦ παραβάλλον αὐτῶν τὰ τῶν προγεγενη-
μένων· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡμετέριον εἶναι τὴν ποικίλην ἑαυ-
πίασι στεφανωθῆναι νικητάσιν. Ἐλθέτω τῶν πα-
λαιῶν ἐκείνου ποικίλη, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκείνου κατ' ἐκείνου ἑαυ-
πίασι. ὡς γὰρ ἀπὸς ἀκριβοῦς ὅτι τῶν μετὰ πλείων
ἐστὶν ὁ ἀγὼς πρὸς ἡδονῆς. τοῖς δ' ἀφιστάσι στεφ-
ανωθῆναι τῶν αὐτῶν τῇ ἀρετῇ ἢ καὶ ἑαυτοῦ στεφ-
ανώσθαι. οὐ γὰρ τῶν ἀφιστῶν ἀφιστάσθαι, ὅτι τῶν
καρμῶν αὐτῶν τῶν ποικίλων πλείων πρὸς τῶν ἑαυτοῦ.
μή μιν ἑαυτοῦ ἢ ἑαυτοῦ ἀφιστάσθαι. ἀφιστάσθαι
ἐκείνου, ἀλλ' ἐκείνου τῶν ἀφιστῶν. ὅτι τῶν
καρμῶν αὐτῶν τῶν ποικίλων πλείων πρὸς τῶν ἑαυτοῦ.

ἵνα δὲ μὴ ἀποπλανῶ ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ τῆς ὑποθέσεως, 120
ἀναγνώσεται ἡμῖν ὁ γραμματεὺς τὸ ἐπίγραμμα ἃ
ἐπιγράπεται τῶς ἀπὸ Φιλῆς τῶν δῆμον καταγα-
γούσιν.

ΕΠΙΓΡΑΜΜΑ.

τοῖς δὲ ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα στεφάνοις ἐγέραιρε παλαιχθῶν
ἄνθρωπος Ἀθηναῖον, ὃς τότε τοῖς ἐκείνους
θεαροῖς ἡρώδης πρῶτος πόλεως καταπύειν
ἤρξαν· κίνδυνον σώματιν ἀράμενοι.

Ὅτι τοῖς παρὰ τοῖς νόμοις ἄρξαντας κατέλυσαν. 121
καὶ τοῦτ' αὐτοὺς φησὶν ὁ ποιητὴς τιμηθῆναι. ἔαν-
λου γὰρ ἦν ἐτι τότε πᾶσιν ὅτι τρηικαῦτα ὁ δῆμος
κατέλυθη. ἐπειδὴ τινες τὰς γραφὰς τῶν παρανόμων
ἀνείδαν. καὶ γὰρ τοι, ὡς ἐγὼ τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ ἑμῶν
ταῦ ἐπυνθανόμεν, ὅς ἐτι βίους ἐνεθήκοντα καὶ πέντε
ἐτελεύτησεν, ἀπάντων μετασχὼν τῶν πόνων τῇ
πόλει, εἰς πολλάκις πρὸς ἐμὲ διεξίει ἐπὶ σχολῆς·
ἔφη γάρ, ὅτε ἀρτίως κατεληλίθει ὁ δῆμος, εἴ τις
εἰσίοι γραφὴν παρανόμων εἰς δικαστήριον, εἶναι
ἴμοιον τὸ ἔνομα καὶ τὸ ἔργον. τί γὰρ ἐστὶν ἀνο-
σιώτερον ἀνδρὸς παράνομα λέγοντος καὶ πράττον-
τος; καὶ τὴν ἀκρέασι, ὡς ἐκεῖνος ἀπήγγελλεν, οὐ 122
τῶν αἰτῶν τρόπον ἐποιεῖν τοῦ ὅσπερ γινέται. ἀλλ'
ἦσαν πολλοὶ χαλεπώτεροι οἱ δικασταὶ τοῖς τὰ παρα-
νομα γράφουσιν αἰτοῦ τοῦ κατηγοροῦ, καὶ πολλάκις
ἀντιέειζον τὸν γραμματεῖα καὶ ἐκέλευον πάλιν ἀνα-
γιγνώσκειν τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὸ ψήφισμα, καὶ ἡλίσ-
κοντο οἱ παράνομα γράφοντες οὐκ εἰ πάντας παρα-
πῆρσαιεν τοῖς νόμοις, ἀλλ' εἰ μίαν μόνον συλλα-

ἔην παραλαβάνην. τὰ δὲ ἐνὶ τῷ γεγραμμένῳ πράγματα
 ὑπερκαταγέλαστον ὅτιν' ὁ μὲν γὰρ γραμματεὺς
 ἀναγγεγνώσκει τὸ παρρησιόμοιον, αἱ δὲ δικασταὶ ὥσπερ
 ἐπιδόην ἢ ἀλλοτρίων τι πρῶγμα ἀκροῶμεναι πρὸς
 193 ἑτέρω τινὶ τῶν γεγραμμένων ἔχουσιν. ἦδη δ' ἐκ τῶν τεχνῶν
 τῶν Δημοσθένους αἰσχυρὸν ἔθος ἐν τοῖς δικαστη-
 ρίοις παρὶδεχέσθαι. μετενέγκται γὰρ ὑμῶν τὴν τῆς
 πέλας δίκαν ὁ μὲν γὰρ κατήγορος ἀπολαύεται,
 ὁ δὲ φεύγων τὴν γραφὴν κατηγόρου. αἱ δὲ δικασταὶ
 ἐνῶστε ἐν μὲν εἰς κρίται ἐπιδουλοῦνται, ὅν δ' οἱ
 εἰσὶ δικασταί, πρὸς τοῦτων ἀναγκάζονται τὴν ψήφον
 φέρειν. λέγει δὲ ὁ φεύγων, ὅν ὅρα πᾶν ἄφεται τὸ
 πρῆγμα, οἷχ' ὅς ἐναίμα γεγραφον, ἀλλ' ὅς ἂν
 ποτὶ καὶ πρῶτον ἑτέρως τοιαῦτα γράψας ἀπέφυγεν
 194 ἑξ' ὃ καὶ ἐνὶ μῆτι φασικὸν ἀκούω Κτησιφύλιτα.
 ἐτόλμα δ' ἐν ὑμῶν ποτε σφαιρούμεθα Ἀριστοφάνη
 ἐκείνους ὁ Ἀξίνοτος λόγων ὅτι γραφὴς παρρησιόμου
 πέφυγεν ἰσοδικία καὶ πίστις. ἀλλ' οἷχι ὁ
 Κέφαλις ὁ παλαιὸς ἐκείνους, ὁ ὅσων δημοτικώτατος
 γεγένηται, οἷχ' αἴτος, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐναντίως ἐφι-
 λαστιώτο, λέγων ὅτι πλεῖστα πάντων γεγραφὸς
 ψεύδεσιν αἰσχυρὰν πάμπαν γραφὴν πέφυγεν
 παρρησιόμων, καλῶς (οἶμαι) σφαιρούμενος. ἐφα-
 νήτο γὰρ ἀλλήλους παρρησιόμων οὐ μῶν οὐδ' ἐν-
 πολιτείομοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ φίλοι τοὺς φίλους. εἰς 82
 195 τι ἐξακατήκοον εἰς τὴν πόλιν. ἐκείθεν δὲ τοῦτο
 γνώσεσθε. Ἀλχίνοος γὰρ ὁ ἐκ Κοίλης ἐγράψατο
 παρρησιόμων Θρασυβούλου τὸν Σπειριῶ, ὅτα τῶν
 συγκατελεύθυντων αὐτῷ ἀπὸ Φυλῆς, καὶ εἴλε νε-
 ωστὶ γεγενημένων αὐτῷ τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν, ὅς οἷχ'

ἐπιλογίσαντο οἱ δικασταὶ ἡγοῦντο γάρ, ὥσπερ τότε
 αὐτὸς φεύγωντας ἀπὸ Φυλῆς Θρασυβούλος κατή-
 γορον, αὐτῶν μὲν μόνους ἐξελάττειν παρὰ τοῖς νε-
 ροῖς γράψοντά τε. ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ, ἀλλὰ πᾶν τοῖναν- 196
 τῶν γέμεται· οὐ γὰρ ἀγὰρ στρατηγὸν καὶ τῶν τὰς
 πιστῆσας τιμῆς εὐεργεσιῶν ἐν τῷ πρυτανείῳ ἐξαίτεται
 τὰς γραφὰς τῶν παρρησιόμων, οἷς ὑμῶν ἀχαρίσ-
 τος εἶναι δικαίως ἂν ὑπολαμβάνοιτε· εἰ γὰρ τις ἐν
 δημοκρατίᾳ τετιμημένος, ἐν τοιαύτῃ πολιτείᾳ ἦν εἰ
 θεῶν καὶ οἱ νόμοι αἰξάνουσιν, τολμῇ βοηθεῖν τοῖς παρ-
 ῥημα γράψουσιν, καταλείπει τὴν πολιτείαν ὑφ' ἧς τετί-
 μηται. τίς οὖν ἀποδέεικται λόγος ἀνδρὶ σινηγόρῳ 197
 δικαίῳ καὶ σώφρονι; ἐγὼ λέξω. εἰς τρεῖς μέρη διαι-
 ρεῖται ἡ ἡμέρα, ὅταν εἰσὶν γραφὴ παρρησιόμων εἰς τὸ
 δικαστήριον. ἐγχεῖται γὰρ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἕδωρ τῷ
 κατηγόρῳ καὶ τοῖς νόμοις καὶ τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ, τὸ δὲ
 δεύτερον ἕδωρ τῷ τὴν γραφὴν φεύγοντι καὶ τοῖς εἰς
 αὐτὸ τὸ πρῶγμα λέγουσιν· ἐπειδὴν δὲ τῇ πρώτῃ
 ψήφῳ μὴ λυθῇ τὸ παρρησιόμοιον, ἔσθ' τὸ τρίτον ἕδωρ
 ἐγχεῖται τῇ τιμῇ καὶ τῷ μεγέθει τῆς ὀργῆς τῆς
 ὑμετέρας· ὅστις μὲν οὖν ἐν τῇ τιμῇ τὴν ψήφον 198
 αἰτεῖ, τὴν ὀργὴν τὴν ὑμετέραν παραιτεῖται· ὅστις δ'
 ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ λόγῳ τὴν ψήφον αἰτεῖ, ἔρκειν αἰτεῖ,
 νόμον αἰτεῖ, δημοκρατίαν αἰτεῖ, ὅν οὔτε αἰτῆσαι
 οὐδὲν ὅσιον οὐδὲν οὔτ' αἰτηθῆναι ἑτέρῳ δοῖναι.
 κελεύσατε οὖν αὐτοῖς, εἰσάοντας ἑμᾶς τὴν πρώτην
 ψήφον κατὰ τοὺς νόμους διανεγκεῖν, ἀπαντῶν εἰς τὴν
 τήρησιν. ἔλως δ' ἔγωγε, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐλίου δέω 199
 αἰτεῖν ὥς καὶ νόμον δεῖ τεθῆναι ἐπὶ ταῖς γραφαῖς
 μόνον τῶν παρρησιόμων, μὴ εἶναι μήτε τῷ κατηγόρῳ

συνήγερος παρασχίσθαι μήτε τῷ τῇ γραφῇ τῶν
 παλαιῶν φείγοντι. οὐ γὰρ ἀδύνατον ἔστι τὰ
 εὐλαίων, ἀλλ' ὀρισμένον τοῖς νόμοις τοῖς ὑμετέροις.
 ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν τῇ τεκτονικῇ, ὅταν εἰδῇται βουλόμενα
 τὰ ἄρ' ἐν καὶ τὸ μὲν, τὸν καιρὸν προσφέρωμεν ὥσθι
 200 γιγνώσκειται, οὕτω καὶ ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς τῶν παλαι-
 ῶν παρακεῖται καιρῶν τοῦ δικαίου τοῦτο, τὸ σαφές
 εἶναι, τὸ ψήφισμα καὶ οἱ παρρηγορημαῖοι νόμοι
 ταῦτα συμφωνοῦντα ἀλλήλοις ἐπιδείξας κατάβαστε
 καὶ τί δεῖ σε Δημοσθένην παρακαλεῖν; ὅταν δ'
 ὑπερπῆδῃς τὴν δικαίαν ἀπολογίαν παρακαλῶ
 κακοῦργον ἀνθρώπον καὶ τεχνίτην λέγων, κλέπτει
 τὴν ἀκρίαν, βλάπτει τὴν πόλιν, καταλύει τὴν
 δημοκρατίαν.

201 Τίς οὖν ἐστὶν ἀποτροπὴ τῶν τοιούτων λόγων;
 ἐγὼ ἐγώ. ἐπειδὴν προσελθὼν εὐνοηθεὶ Κτησιφῶντι
 διεξέλεθ' ἡμῶς ταῦτο δὴ τὸ συντεταγμένον αὐτῷ
 προαίμιον. ἔπειτ' ἐνδιατρήθη καὶ μὴ ἀπολογῆται.
 ὑπομνήσατ' αὐτὸν ἄνευ θορήβου τὸ σαφές λαβεῖν
 καὶ τοὺς νόμους τῷ ψηφίσματι παραμνηνομένους. εἰ
 δὲ μὴ προσποιῇται ὑμῶν ἀκοῖαν, μήτε ὑμῶς ἐκεί-
 ρον ἐθέλετε ἀκοῖαν οὐ γὰρ τῶν φευγόντων τὰς δι-
 202 καίας ἀπολογίας εἰσεληλῖθατε ἀσυνετόμενοι, ἀλλὰ
 τῶν ἐθελόντων δικαίως ἀπολογεῖσθαι. ἂν δ' ὑπερ-
 πῆδῃς τὴν δικαίαν ἀπολογίαν Δημοσθένην παρα-
 καλῇ, μάλιστα μὲν μὴ προσδέχεσθε κακοῦργον ἀν-
 θρώπον, οὐ μὲν ῥήμασι τοῖς νόμοις ἀναιρέσει,
 μηδ' ἐν ἀρετῇ τοῦθ' ὑμῶν μηδεὶς καταλογιζέσθω, ὅς
 ἂν ἐπανερομένου Κτησιφῶντος "ἐκάλεισθ' Δημο-
 σθένην;" πρῶτος ἀναβῇσθ' "καλεῖ, καλεῖ." ἐπὶ

συντὸν καλῶς, ἐπὶ τοὺς νόμους καλῶς, ἐπὶ τὴν δημο-
 κρατίαν καλῶς. ἂν δ' ὅρα ὑμῖν δόξη ἀκοῖαν, ἀξιῶσατε
 τὸν Δημοσθένην τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἀπολογεῖσθαι
 ὡς ἐγὼ κατηγόρηκα. ἐγὼ δὲ πῶς κατηγόρηκα; 203
 ἵνα καὶ ὑπομνήσω ὑμῶς. οὔτε τὸν ἴδιον βίον τῶν
 204 Δημοσθένους πρότερον διεξέλεθ' οὔτε τῶν δημοσίων
 ἀδικημάτων οὐδενὸς πρότερον ἐμνησθην, ἀφθονα εἴ-
 πον καὶ πολλὰ ἔχων λέγειν ἢ πάντων ἢ ἂν εἴην
 ἀπορώτατος· ἀλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς νόμους ἐπέδειξα
 ἀπαγορευόντας μὴ στεφανοῦν τοὺς ὑπευθύνους, ἔπειτα
 τὸν ῥήτορα ἐξήλεξα γράψαντα Δημοσθένην ὑπεύ-
 θυνον ὅσα στεφανοῦν αἴδην προβαλλόμενον, οἷδε
 προσεγγράψαντα "ἐπειδὴν δὴ τὰς εἰθίτας;" ἀλλὰ
 πατελέως καὶ ὑμῶν καὶ τῶν νόμων καταπιφρηνήκατα
 καὶ τὰς ἐσομένας πρὸς ταῦτα προφάσεις εἶπον, ὡς
 ἀξίον καὶ ἡμῶς διαμνηστέειν. δεύτερον δ' ὑμῶν διεξ-
 ἤλεθ' ὑμῶς περὶ τῶν κληρυμάτων νόμους, ἐν οἷς 201
 διαρρήθην ἀπείρηται τὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου στεφανοί-
 μενον μὴ κληρτεσθαι ἔξω τῆς ἐκκλησίας· ὃ δὲ βήτωρ
 ὃ φείγων τὴν γραφὴν οὐ τοῖς νόμοις μόνον παρα-
 βέβηκεν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς ἀναρρήσεως καὶ
 τὸν τόπον, κλεινὸν οὐκ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ
 θεάτρῳ τὴν ἀνάρρησιν γέγεσθαι, οἷδε ἐκκλησιαζόν-
 των Ἀθηναίων ἀλλὰ μελλοντων τραγῳδῶν εἰσέναι.
 ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν μικρὰ μὲν περὶ τῶν ἰδίων εἶπον, τὰ
 δὲ πλείιστα περὶ τῶν δημοσίων ἀδικημάτων. οὕτω 205
 ἐγὼ καὶ τὸν Δημοσθένην ἀξιῶσατέ ἀπολογεῖσθαι πρὸς
 τὸν τῶν ὑπευθύνων νόμον πρῶτον καὶ τοῦ περὶ τῶν
 κληρυμάτων δεύτερον, τρίτον δὲ τὸ μέγιστον λέγων,
 ὡς οἷδε ἀξίως ἔστι τῆς δορεῖς. εἰ δ' ὑμῶν δέηται

συγχωρῆσαι αὐτῷ περὶ τῆς τάξεως τοῦ λόγου. κατ-
 επαγγελλόμενος ὡς ἐπὶ τῇ τελευτῇ τῆς ἀπολογίας
 λίσσει τὸ παρρησιον, μὴ συγχωρεῖτε, μηδ' ἀγνοεῖτε
 ἔτι πάλαισμα τοῦτ' ἐστὶ δικαστηρίου οὐ γὰρ εἰσπύλλης
 ποτε βυβαλεται πρὸς τὸ παρρησιον ἀπολογεῖσθαι.
 ἀλλ' οἷον ἔχων δίκαιον ἐπεὶν ἑτέρων παρεμβολῇ
 πραγμάτων εἰς λήθην ὑμῶν βυβαλεται τῆς κατηγορίας
 205 ἐμβυβαλεῖν. ὥσπερ οἶν ἐν τοῖς γυμνασίοις ἀγῶνι ἑστῶς
 τοὺς πίκτας περὶ τῆς στύσεως ἀλλήλους ἐπιγωνιζο-
 μένους, οὔτω καὶ ὑμῶς ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν ἐπὶ τῆς
 πόλεως περὶ τῆς τάξεως αὐτῷ τοῦ λόγου μαχεσθῆ-
 καὶ μὴ ἔτε αὐτὸν ἔξω τοῦ πυρρῶν περιστασθῆαι.
 ἀλλ' ἐγκαθήμενοι καὶ ἐμβρονούμενοι ἐν τῇ ἀκροασίᾳ
 ἐπιλαίετε αὐτὸν εἰς τοὺς τῶν πραγμάτων λόγους,
 207 καὶ τὰς ἐκτροπὰς αὐτοῦ τῶν λόγων ἐπιτηρεῖτε. ἀλλ'
 ἂν ἐν συμβέβηκε ὑμῖν, εἰν τοῦτων τὴν τριπλὴν τὴν
 ἀκρίαν πωλεσθε, ταῦθ' ὑμῖν ἤδη δίκαιον εἶμι προ-
 εἰπεῖν. ἐπιστάξει γὰρ τὴν γόητα καὶ φιλαρτιοσύνην
 καὶ ἐιατεταγμένα τὴν πολιτείαν. οὗτος κλαῖει μὲν
 ῥῆτον ἢ ἄλλοι γελοῖσιν, ἐπιτορκεῖ δὲ πάντων προχειρί-
 τατα οὐκ ἂν θανατάσαιμι ἀλλ' εἰ μεταβαλλόμενος τοῖς
 ἔξω περιστασίοις λουιδυμῆται. φάσκων τοῖς μὲν
 ἐλιγαστοῖς ἐπ' αὐτῆς τῆς ἀληθείας ἀηριθμημένους
 ἦκειν πρὸς τὸ τοῦ κατηγοροῦ ῥῆμα, τοὺς δὲ ἑταί-
 208 ρικούς πρὸς τὸ τοῦ φεγμένου. ὅταν δὲ πάντα λέγῃ,
 πρὸς μὲν τοῖς στασιαστικοῖς λόγοις ἐκείνῳ αὐτῷ
 ὑποβάλλετε "ὦ Δημοσθέτες, εἰ σοὶ ἦσαν εἰσοδοὶ οἱ
 ἀπὸ Φυλῆς φεγόμενα τὴν εἴσοδον καταγαγόντες, οὐκ
 ἂν ποῦ ἡ δημοκρατία κατέστη. τὴν δὲ ἐκείνῳ μὲν
 μεγάλων κακῶν συμβάντων εἰσῶν τὴν πόλιν τὸ

καλλίστου ἐκ παιδείας ῥῆμα ἐθελήμενοι, μὴ μνησι-
 κακῶν σοὶ δὲ ἐλεηποιεῖς. καὶ μᾶλλον σοὶ μέλει τῶν
 αἰθημερῶν λόγων ἢ τῆς σωτηρίας τῆς πόλεως." ὅταν
 δ' ἐπιτορκῶν ὦν εἰς τὴν εἰς τῶν ἔρκων πίστιν κατα-
 φεγγίη, ἐκείνῳ ἀπομνημονεύετε αὐτῷ, ὅτι τῷ
 πολλάκις μὲν ἐπιτορκεῖται αὐτῷ [πρὸς τοὺς αὐτοὺς]
 μὲν ἔρκων ἀξιώσῃ πιστευοῦσθαι διῶν θῆτερον
 ὑπάρχει δεῖ, ὦν οὐδέτερον ἐστὶ Δημοσθέσι ὑπάρχειν,
 ἢ τοὺς θεοὺς καινοὺς ἢ τοὺς ἀκροατὰς μὴ τοὺς αὐτοὺς.
 περὶ δὲ τῶν δακρυῶν καὶ τοῦ τόνου τῆς φωνῆς, ὅταν 209
 ὑμῶς ἐπερωτῇ "παῖ φεγῶ, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, περι-
 γράψατέ με ἐκ τῆς πολιτείας οὐκ ἐστὶν ὅποι ἀνα-
 210 πτήσομαι," ἀνθυποβάλλετε αὐτῷ "ὁ δὲ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθη-
 ναίων ποῖ καταφέρει. Δημοσθέτες; πρὸς ποίαν συμ-
 μίχων παρασκευῇ πρὸς ποῖα χρήματα; τί προ-
 βαλλόμενος ἐπὶ τοῦ δήμου πεπολίτευσαι; ἂν μὲν
 γὰρ ὑπὲρ σέαυτοῦ βεβούλευσαι, ἅπαντες ὁρώμεν
 ἐκλιπῶν μὲν τὸ ὅστι οὐκ οἰκίς, ὡς δασείς, ἐν Πει-
 ραιεῖ, ἀλλ' ἐξορμῶς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, ἐφόδια δὲ πε-
 πόρισαι τῇ σπουδῇ ἀνατολῆς τὸ βασιλικὸν χρυσίον
 καὶ τὰ δημόσια ἐωροδοκήματα." ὅλως δὲ τί τὰ εἰ- 210
 κούα; τίς ἡ κραυγὴ; τίς ὁ τόνος τῆς φωνῆς; οὐχ ὁ
 μὲν τὴν γραφὴν φεγῶν ἐστὶ Κτησιφῶν, [ὁ δ' ἀγὼν
 οὐκ ἀτίμητος] σὺ δ' οὔτε περὶ τῆς οὐσίας οὔτε περὶ
 τοῦ σώματος οὔτε περὶ τῆς ἐπιτιμίας ἀγωνίζῃ, ἀλλὰ
 περὶ τίνος ἐστὶν αὐτῷ ἡ σπουδὴ; περὶ χρυσῶν στε-
 φάνων καὶ κηρυγμάτων ἐν τῷ θεατρῷ παρὰ τοῖς
 νόμοις ὡν ἐχρῆν, εἰ καὶ μανὴς ὁ δῆμος ἢ τῶν καθε- 211
 στηκότων ἐπιλελησμένος ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτοῦ ἀκαιρίας ἐβού-
 λετο στεφανοῦν αὐτῶν παρ' Ἀθηναῖα εἰς τὴν ἐκκλη-

- σίαν εἰπεῖν "ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸν μὲν στέφανον
δέχομαι, τὸν δὲ καὶ μὲν ἀποδοκιμάζω ἐν ᾧ τὸ κτησιφύ-
γιγνεται· οὐ γὰρ εἴδ' ὡς ἡ πόλις ἐπείρῃσθαι καὶ
ἐκείναιτο, ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐμοὶ στεφανοῦσθαι." ἀλλ'
οἶμαι, ταῦτα μὲν ἂν εἴποι ἀνὴρ οὕτως βραβυκῶς μετ'
ἀρετῆς· ἃ δὲ σὺ λέξεις, εἴποι ἂν κάβαρμα ξηλο-
212 ποῖν ἀρετῆν. οὐ γὰρ εἴ μὲν τὸν Ἡρακλῆα τὸν τῶν
ἡμῶν οἰκῆς φοβήσεται, μὴ ὁ Δημοσθένης, αὐτὸς
μεγαλίστινος καὶ τὸ πολυμικρὸν διαφέρων, ἀτυχεῖν
τῶν ἀριστείων οἵκαρ ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτῶν διαχρησθέντων
ὡς τοσούτων καταγελῆ τῆς πρὸς ὑμῶν φιλοτιμίας,
ἅσπερ τὴν μισρὴν κεφαλὴν ταύτην καὶ ἐπείρῃσθαι, ἢ
οὗτος παρὰ τοῖς νόμοις γέγραφε στεφανοῦσθαι, μισρὴν
κατατέτμηκε καὶ τοῖς μισροῖς εἰληθεῖ τραυ-
ματος ἐκ προνομίας γυνήδεος γραφομένου, καὶ κατα-
κεκορδίσσεται, ἅσπερ αὐτὸν οἶμαι τὰ τῶν κορυδαλλῶν
ἐχνη τῶν Μειδίων ἔχειν ἐπὶ φανερῇ· ὁ γὰρ ἄνθρωπος
οὐ κεφαλὴν ἀλλὰ πρῶτον κέκτηται.
- 213 Περὶ δὲ Κτησιφάντος τοῦ γράψαντος τὴν γρα-
μὴν βραχίᾳ βολομαι εἰπεῖν, τὰ δὲ πολλὰ ἐπι-
βουλομαι, ἵνα καὶ πῶρ' ἂν λάβω, εἰ δὲ παρῆτε τῆς
σφύρας ποιητοῖς, καὶ μὴ τις προκίπῃ, διαγινώσκων,
ὃ δ' ἐστὶ κοινὸν καὶ δίκαιον κατ' ἀμφοτέρων αὐτῶν
ἀπαγγεῖλαι πρὸς ὑμῖς. ταῦτ' ἐρεῖ. περιέρχονται
γὰρ τῶν ἀγορῶν ἑλθεῖς κατ' ἀλλήλων ἔχοντες δέξας
214 καὶ λόγους οἱ ψευδέας λόγοντες. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Κτησι-
φῶν οὐ τὸ κατ' αὐτὸν φησὶ φοβεῖσθαι (ἐλπίζων
γὰρ εὐξείνῃ τῆς ἀντι), ἀλλὰ τὸν τοῦ Δημοσθένους
ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ ἐωρεσκῆσαν φησὶ φοβεῖσθαι καὶ τὴν
ἐμπληξίαν καὶ δειλίαν ὃ δὲ Δημοσθένης εἰς αὐτὸν

μὲν ἀποβλέπων θαρρεῖν φησὶν, τὴν δὲ τοῦ Κτησι-
φάντος πονηρίαν καὶ πορνορυσκίαν ἐν χειρὶ ἐν-
δέσσει. τοῖς δὲ δὴ κατοχυρώσας ἀλλήλων ἀδικίαν
μνημονὸς ὑμῶν οἱ κοινὸι κρατὶ τῶν ἐγκλημάτων
ἀπολίσσεται.

Περὶ δὲ τῶν εἰς ἡμῶν λαϊκῶν βραχίᾳ βολο- 215
λομαι πρὸς αὐτὸν. πονηροῖαι γὰρ λέξιν Δημοσθέ-
νην ὡς ἡ πόλις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ μὲν ἀφάληται πολλὰ, ἐπ'
ἐμοῦ δὲ καταβρίβλαιπται, καὶ τὸν Φιλίππον καὶ τὸν
Ἀλεξάνδρον καὶ τῆς ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀποδοκίμης ἐπ'
ἐμῶν οἰκῆς δότιν, ὡς δοκεῖ, δεινὸς ἐμνημονεύ-
σας, ὥστε οὐκ ἀπὸ χειρὸς αὐτοῦ, εἴ τι πεπραγμένον
παρ' ἐμῶν ἐγὼ ἢ εἰ τινος ἐμνημονεύσας εἴρηκα, τῶν τῶν
κατηγόρων. ἡ δὲ καὶ τὴν ἡγεσίαν μὲν τοῦ βίου ἐν 216
ἐλλάδι καὶ τῆς σωτῆς μου ἀντιγυροῦ, ἵνα μὴ τις
οὕτω τύπος ἀντιφρόνειας ἀντιδοκίμῃται, καὶ τῶν ἐν
τοῖς γυμνασίοις μετὰ τῶν νεωτέρων μὲν ἀντιφρό-
καταμνησθῇ, καὶ κατὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ τῆς κροῖας οὐκ
ἀρχόμενος τοῦ λόγου φέρει τινὲς αἰτίαν, λέγοντες
ἐγὼ τὴν γραμμὴν οὐκ ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ἐγγραψάμην
ἀλλ' ἐνδοκίμου Ἀλεξάνδρου διὰ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν
ἐχθρῆν. καὶ οὐ Δε, δὲ, ἐγὼ κινδυνεύω, μέλλω καὶ 217
ἀντιφρόνῃ εἶναι τί τοῦ μὲν κορυδαλλῶν τῆς πύδατος
ἐκαστὴν φέρει, τὸ δὲ κατ' ἐκαστὸν οὐκ ἐκαστὸν αὐτὸ
ἐγγραψάμην, ἀλλὰ τοῦτον καὶ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν καὶ
οὐκ ἐκαστὸν ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν τὴν γραμμὴν. ἐγὼ καὶ
οὐκ ἐγὼ τῆς Δημοσθένους ἀντιφρόνῃς ἐξέδομαι, οὐκ ἐγὼ
τῆς ἐμῆς αἰσχύνουμαι, ὡς τῶν ἐμῶν ἐμνημονεύ-
σας λέγοντες ἐμῶν ἀντιφρόνῃς εἶναι βραβυκῶν, ὥστε
τὰ αὐτὰ ταῦτα ἐμνημονεύσας ἀντιφρόνῃς ὑπὸ ἐμῶν 218

δ' ἐμὸν σιωπῆν, ὃ Δημόσθενες ἢ τοῦ βίου μετριότης
 παρεσκεύασεν ὅρκει γὰρ μοι μικρὴ καὶ μειζήτων
 αἰσχρῶς οὐκ ἐπαυνοῦ, ὥστε καὶ σιγῶ καὶ λέγω βου-
 λευσάμενος, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀναγκαζόμενος ὑπὸ τῆς ἐν τῇ
 χάσει ἐσπότης. σὶ δ' οἶμαι λαβὼν μὲν σισυρηκας,
 ἀναλίστας τε κεκμηγας. λέγεις δὲ οὐχ ὅτι οὐκ
 ἔσκη οὐδ' ἂν βούλει, ἀλλ' ὅτι οὐκ οἶμαι σιω-
 πῶν πρὸς τὰ τῶν οὐκ αἰσχρῶς τε ἀλαζονευόμενος ἢ
 219 παραχρῆμα ἐξελέγχει ψευδόμενος. ἀπηνέχθη γὰρ ἢ
 κατὰ τοῦδε τοῦ ψευδοματιᾶς γραφὴ. ἦν οὐχ ὑπὲρ τῆς
 πόλεως ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρον ἐκτετακτοῦ με-
 φῆς ἀπεκτείνετο, ἐπὶ Φιλίππου ζῶντος, πρὶν Ἀλέξαν-
 δρον εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν καταστῆναι, ὥστε σὺ τὸ περὶ
 Πανταναίου ἐνέπιπες ἐλαφροῦς αὐτὸς πρὸς τὴν Ἀθή-
 ναν καὶ τὴν Ἡραν νικτωρ ἐκτετακτοῦ, πῶς δὲ οὐ
 ἐγὼ προηέλεγκτόν γε Ἀλεξάνδρου; εἰ γὰρ μὴ ταῦτα
 220 ἐνέπιπες ἐγὼ καὶ Δημοσθένης εἴσομαι. ἐπιτιμᾶς δὲ
 μοι εἰ μὴ συνεχὴς ἀλλὰ διακρίπτων πρὸς τὸν δῆμον
 προσέρχομαι, καὶ τὴν ἀφώσιν ταύτην οὐκ ἀνέ-
 ρκει μεταφέρειν οὐκ ἐκ δημοκρατίας ἀλλ' ἐξ ἑτέρας
 πολιτείας. ἐν μὲν γὰρ ταῖς ὑδαρχίαις οὐχ ὁ βου-
 λόμενος ἀλλ' ὁ ἐπιστεுவὼν δημογερῶν, ἐν δὲ ταῖς δη-
 μοκρατίαις ὁ βουλούμενος καὶ ὅταν αὐτῷ δοκῇ. καὶ
 τὸ μὲν διὰ χρόνου λόγου σημεῖον ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τῶν και-
 ρῶν καὶ τοῦ συμφέροντος ἀνέφικτος πολιτευόμενος, τὸ
 δὲ μὴ ἐμὴν παραλείπειν ἡμέραν ἐργαζομένου καὶ
 221 μισθαροῦντος. ὑπὲρ ὅτι ταῦτ' ἐμὸν κεκρίσθαι ὑπὸ
 ἐμοῦ μὴδ' ἐπὶ τῶν ἀδικημάτων τιμωρίαν ὑποσχέσθαι, ὅταν
 καταφείγῃς ἐπὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις λόγοις, ἢ τοῖς ἀκούον-
 τας ἐπιλασμοῦς ὑπολαμβάνεις ἢ σπαντὸν παραλο-

γίζεαι. τὰ μὲν γὰρ περὶ τοῖς Ἀμφισσέας ἡσυχάζοντα
 σοὶ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἀθήνησιν δωροδοκηθέντα, χρόνῳ
 ἐγγεγραμμένου ἐν οἷς ὑπὸ ἐμοῦ φανερώς ἐξηλέγχον.
 ἴσως ἐλπίζεις τὸν δῆμον ἀμνημονεῖν τὰ δὲ περὶ τὰς 222
 τριήρεις καὶ τοὺς τριηράρχους ἀρπάζματα τίς ἂν
 ἀποκρίψαι χρόνῳ δύναιτ' ἂν, ὅτε νομοθετήσας περὶ
 τῶν τριηραίων, καὶ σπαντὸν πέλας Ἀθηναίους ἐπι-
 στάτην τῶν τοιούτων, ἐξηλέγχθης ὑπὸ ἐμοῦ ἐξ-
 ἡκοντα καὶ πεντήκοντα ταχισταυτοῦσων τριηράρχους
 ὑψηλόμενος, πλὴν τῆς πόλεως ἀφανίζων καυτικῶς
 ἢ ὅτε Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν ἐν Νύξῳ ναυμαχίαν Λακεδαιμο-
 νίους καὶ Πόλλιν ἐνίκησαν; οὕτω δὲ ταῖς αἰτίαις ἐνέ- 223
 φραξας τὰς κατὰ σπαντὸς τιμωρίας, ὥστε τὸν κίνδυ-
 νον εἶναι μὴ σοὶ τῷ ἀδικεῖν ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἐπεξιούσι,
 πολλὸν μὲν τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Φιλίππου ἐν ταῖς δια-
 βοδαῖς φέροντες αἰτιάμενος δὲ τινὰς ἐμποδίζων τοῖς
 τῆς πόλεως καιροῖς, ἀνὴρ τὸ πορὶν λυμαινόμενος, τὸ
 δὲ μέλλον καταπαύμενος. αὐτὸ τὸ τελευταῖον
 εἰσαγγέλλεσθαι μέλλων ὑπὸ ἐμοῦ, τὴν Ἀναξίου
 σὺλληψιν τοῦ Ὀρείτου κατασκευάσας, τοῦ τὰ ἀγο-
 ρήματα Ὀλυμπιακοῦ ἀγορεύοντος, καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν 224
 ἀνδρα ὅς σφ' ἐβλάψας τῇ σπαντοῦ χειρὶ ἔγραψας
 αὐτὸν θανάτῳ ζημιῶσαι; καὶ παρὰ τῷ αὐτῷ ἐν Ὀρεῷ
 κατεργου, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς αἰτίας τραπέζης ἔφαγες καὶ
 ἐπιεες καὶ ὑσπείσας, καὶ τὴν δεξιὴν ἐπέβαλες ἀνδρα
 φίλον καὶ ξένον ποιούμενος; καὶ τοῦτον ἀπέκτεινας,
 καὶ περὶ τοῦτον ἐν ὕπνῳ Ἀθηναίους ἐξελέγχθεις
 ὑπὸ ἐμοῦ καὶ κληῖς ἐφοκτόντος οὐ τὸ ἀσέβημα ἡρ-
 νήσω. ἀλλ' ἀπεκρίναν ἐφ' ᾧ ἀπεβέβησεν ὁ δῆμος καὶ
 ὅσοι ξένοι περιέστασαν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν; εἴησθα γὰρ

τοὺς τῆς πόλεως ἄλλας περὶ πλείους ποιεῖσθαι
 225 τῆς ξυμικῆς τριπέζης. ἐπιστολὰς δὲ σιγῇ ψιφίαις καὶ
 καὶ κατασκόπων συλλήψεις καὶ βασιάνους ἐπ' αἰ-
 τίας ἀγνήτους. ὥς ἐμοῦ μετὰ τινῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει
 νεωτερίζον βουλομένων. ἑπτατα ἐπερωτῶν με. τίς
 ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, μάλ्लι, τίς ἂν οἷα τοιούτους ἰατρὸς
 ἕστις τῶν νοσούντων μεταξύ μου ἀσθενούντων καὶ
 συμβουλεύων, τελευτήσαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ εἰλθεῖν εἰς τὴν
 226 ἑκατα ἰαξίαν πρὸς τοὺς ἀνέκτους ἢ ἐπισημαίνοντες ἔργον
 ἂν ἐρίωτο. αὐτῶν δ' οὐκ ἐπερωτῶς, τίς ἂν οἷα
 δηρινοσῆς τοιούτους ἕστις τὴν μὲν εὐνοίαν θεοκρίστου
 δύναται, τοὺς δὲ κειροὺς ἐν οἷς ἦν σωζέσθαι τὴν
 πόλιν ἀποδίδω, τοὺς δ' εὖ φρονούντας καὶ ἐκείνους
 βλάψαν σιωπῶντας, ἡπιότα δ' ἐκ τῶν κειρόμενων
 καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀσφαλείως καὶ καὶ σιμωδῶν ἀξίως
 στεφανοῦσθαι ἐπ' ἡσυχίᾳ, ἀγαθὸν μὲν πιστεύοντες
 μήτις, πῶτα δὲ τῶν πασῶν αὐτοῖς τρηπτοῖς, ἐπ-
 ερωτῶν δὲ τοὺς ἀνυποφάντηθέντας ἐκ τῆς πόλεως
 227 οὐκ οὐκ ἐκείνους ἐξομαρτύνοντες, ὑπομαρτυροῦντες ἐκ
 τοῦ πῶτα τελευτήσαντος, ὅτι τῆς μάχης ἐπιχειρήσαντος
 οὐκ ἐπὶ χυδαίονος περὶ τῆς πόλεως ἰσχυρῶς, ἀλλ'
 ἐπὶ τῆς σωτηρίας τῆς πόλεως, ἐπὶ τῆς σωτηρίας ἐπὶ
 ἐκείνους ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως, ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως, ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως
 228 καὶ τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου, ὅν ἐκείνους
 θάνατος Δημοσθένος ἀφ' ὧν ἐκείνους μάλ्लι λέγει
 ἀγνοεῖται μάλ्लι. ἀφ' ὧν ἐκείνους μάλ्लι λέγει

ταῖς Σειρήσιν, ὥς εἶκε. καὶ γὰρ ἐπ' ἐκείνων οὐ
 κηλεῖσθαι φησι τοὺς ἀκρωμένους ἀλλ' ἀπόλλυσθαι,
 εἰσπερ οὐδ' εἰδοκίμειν τὴν τῶν Σειρήνων μουσι-
 κήν· καὶ δὲ καὶ τὴν τῶν λόγων ἐμπειρίαν καὶ τὴν
 φύσιν μου γεγενησθαι ἐπὶ βλάβῃ τῶν ἀκούοντων.
 καίτοι τὸν λόγον τοῦτον ἄλλως μὲν ἔγωγε οἶδαι πρέ-
 πειν ἡγεῖσθαι περὶ ἐμοῦ λέγειν τῆς γὰρ αἰτίας αἰ-
 σχρὸν τὴν αἰτιώμεν ἐστὶ τὸ ἔργον μὴ ἔχειν ἐπιδεί-
 ξαι. εἰ δ' ἦν ἀναγκαῖον ῥηθῆναι, οὐ Δημοσθένους 229
 ἦν ὁ λόγος, ἀλλ' ἀντὶς στρατηγὸς μεγάλῃ μὲν τῇ
 πόλει καταγγραμμάτων, λόγων δὲ ἡδυνάτου καὶ τὴν
 τῶν ἀντιδίκων εἰς τὸ τοῦ ἐξηλεκτότος φύσιν, ὅτι σύν-
 οἶδεν ἑαυτῷ μὲν οἶδεν ὅν ἐπαπέπρακται ὑπερμείων
 φράσαι, τὸν δὲ κατήγορον ὅρῃ ἐντάμενον καὶ τὰ μὴ
 πεπραγμένα ἐφ' αὐτοῦ παρρησιαστικῶς ἀκούουσιν
 ὥς εἰσέκηκεν. ὅταν δ' ἐξ ἐνομάτων συγκεῖμενος ἄν-
 θρωπος, καὶ τοιούτων πικρῶν καὶ περὶ ἔργων, ἔπειτα
 ἐπὶ τὴν ἀπλότητα καὶ τὰ ἔργα καταφεύγῃ, τίς ἂν
 ἀνίσχουτο; οὐ τὴν γλῶτταν ὥσπερ τῶν αὐλῶν ἐάν
 τις ἀφ' αὐτῆς τὸ λατῶν οἶδεν ἐστίν.

Θαυμάζω ἔγωγε ἐμῶν, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ ζητῶ 230
 πρὸς τί ἂν ὑποβλέποντες ἀποψηφίσαι τὴν γρα-
 φήν. πῶτα ὥς τὸ ψήφισμα ἐστὶν ἔτιμον; ἀλλ'
 οὐδὲμία πῶτα γνῶμη παρανομοτέρα γένηται.
 ἀλλ' ὥς τὸ ψήφισμα γραφῆς οὐκ ἐπιτηδεύς ἐστι
 ἐκείνους δοῦναι; οὐκ ἂν εἴσι παρ' ἐμῶν εἶθαι βίον,
 εἰ τοῦτον ἀφίστετε. ἐκείνους δ' οὐ λυπηρῶν, εἰ πρότε-
 ρον μὲν ἐπεπύμπλατο ἡ ὀρχήστρα χαντῶν στεφάνων
 οἷς ὁ δῆμος ἐστεφανώτο ἐπὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, εἰς τὸ
 ξυμικῶς στεφάνοις ταύτην ἀποδεδοῖσθαι τὴν ἡμέραν,

ἐκ δὲ τῶν Δημοσθένους πολιτευμάτων ἡμεῖς μὲν
 ἀστεφάνωτοι καὶ ἀκήρυκτοι γίγμεσθε, οὗτος δὲ κηρυ-
 231 χθήσεται; καὶ εἰ μὲν τις τῶν τραγικῶν ποιητῶν τῶν
 μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπεισαγόντων ποιήσκειν ἐν τραγῳδίᾳ τὸν
 Θερσίτην ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων στεφανώμενον, οἷδεῖς
 ἂν ἡμῶν ὑπομείνειεν, ὅτι φησὶν Ὁμηρὸς ἄνδρῶν
 αὐτὸν εἶναι καὶ συκοφάντην· αὐτοὶ δ' ὅταν τὸν τοι-
 οῦτον ἄνθρωπον στεφανώτε, οὐκ οἴεσθε ἐν ταῖς τῶν
 Ἑλλήνων δόξαις συρίττεσθαι; οἱ μὲν γὰρ πατέρες
 ἡμῶν τὰ ἐνδοξα καὶ λαμπρὰ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀνέτι-
 θεσαν τῷ δήμῳ, τὰ δὲ ταπεινὰ καὶ καταδυστέρα εἰς
 τοὺς ῥήτορας τοῖς φαίλους ἔτρεπον· Κτησιφῶν δ'
 232 ἡμῖς οἴεται δεῖν ἀφελόντας τὴν ἀδοξίαν ἀπὸ Δημο-
 σθένους περιθεῖναι τῷ δήμῳ. καὶ φασὶ μὲν εὐτυχεῖν
 εἶναι, ὥς καὶ ἐστέ· καλῶς ποιοῦντες, ψηφισθε δ'
 ὑπὸ μὲν τῆς τύχης ἐγκαταλελειφθαι, ὑπὸ Δημοσθέ-
 νους δὲ εὐπεπονθέναι; καὶ τὸ πτωχὸν ἀτοπώτατον,
 ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς δικαστηρίοις τοῖς μὲν τῆς τῶν δώρων
 γραφᾶς ἀλίσκομένους ἀτιμοῦτε, ὅν δ' αὐτοὶ μισθοῦ
 πολιτευόμενον σίγηστε, στεφανώσετε; καὶ τοῖς μὲν
 κριταῖς τοῖς ἐκ τῶν Διονυσίων, εἰ μὴ δίκαιώς τοῖς
 κυκλίους χοροῖς κρίνωσι, ζημιούτε· αὐτοὶ δὲ οὐ κυ-
 κλίων χορῶν κριταὶ καθεστηκότες ἀλλὰ νόμων καὶ
 πολιτικῆς ἀρετῆς, τὰς δωρεὰς οὐ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους
 οὐδ' ὀλίγοις καὶ τοῖς ἀξίοις ἀλλὰ τῷ διαπραξαμένῳ
 233 δώσετε; ἐπεὶ ἔξεισιν ἐκ τοῦ δικαστηρίου ὁ τοιοῦτος
 κριτὴς ἑαυτὸν μὲν ἀσθενῆ πεποιηκώς, ἰσχυρὸν δὲ τὸν
 ῥήτορα. ἀνὴρ γὰρ ἰδιώτης ἐν πύλαι δημοκρατομείῃ
 νόμῳ καὶ ψήφῳ βασιλεύει· ἔτι δ' ἐτέρῳ ταῦτα
 παραδῶ, καταλελυκεν αὐτὴς τῇ αὐτοῦ ἐκταστίαν.

ἔπειθ' ὁ μὲν ὄρκος, ὃν ὁμομοκῶς δικάζει, συμπαρα-
 κολουθῶν αὐτὸν λυπεῖ· [εἰ αὐτὸν γὰρ οἶμαι γέγονε
 τὸ ἁμάρτημα] ἢ δὲ χάρις πρὸς ὃν ἐχαρίζετο ἄδελος
 γεγέννηται· ἢ γὰρ ψήφος ἀφανὴς φέρεται.

Δοκοῦμεν δ' ἔμοιγε, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀμφότερα καὶ 234
 κατορθοῦν καὶ παρακινεῦν εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν οὐ
 σωφρονοῦντες. ὅτι μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν νῦν καιρῶν οἱ
 πολλοὶ τοῖς ὀλίγοις προέσθε τὰ τῆς δημοκρατίας
 ἰσχυρά, οὐκ ἐπαινώ· ὅτι δ' οὐ γεγέννηται φορὰ καθ'
 ἡμῖς ῥητόρων πονηρῶν ἅμα καὶ τολμηρῶν, εὐτυχοῦ-
 μεν. πρότερον μὲν γὰρ τοιαύτας φήσεις ἔμελλε τὸ
 ἐνήμεριον, αἱ βραδίως οὕτω κατέλυσαν τὸν δῆμον·
 ἔχαιρε γὰρ κολακευόμενος, ἔπειτ' αὐτὸν οὐχ οὖς
 ἐφύβητο, ἀλλ' οἷς ἑαυτὸν ἐνεχείριζε, κατέλυσαν·
 235 ἱπποὶ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ τῶν τριάκοντα ἐγένοντο, οἱ πλεί-
 ους ἢ χιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους τῶν πολιτῶν ἀκρί-
 τους ἀπέκτειναν πρὶν καὶ τὰς αἰτίας ἀκοῦσαι ἐφ'
 αἷς ἔμελλον ἀποθνήσκειν, καὶ οὐδ' ἐπὶ τὰς ταφὰς
 καὶ ἐκφοράς τῶν τελευτησάντων εἶων τοὺς προσή-
 κοντας παραγενέσθαι. οὐχ ἰφ' ἡμῶν αὐτοῖς ἔξετε
 τοῖς πολιτευομένοις; οὐ ταπεινώσαντες ἀποπέμ-
 ψατε τοῖς νῦν ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς; οὐ μέμνησθ' ὅτι οἷδεῖς
 πάποτε ἐπέθετο πρότερον τῇ τοῦ δήμου καταλίσει,
 πρὶν ἂν μᾶλλον τῶν δικαστηρίων ἰσχύση;

Ἡδῶς δ' ἂν ἔγωγε, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐναντίον ἡμῶν 236
 ὁμοληγησαίμην πρὸς τὸν γράψαντα τὸ ψήφισμα, διὰ
 ποίας εὐεργεσίας ἀξιοῖ Δημοσθένην στεφανῶσαι. εἰ
 μὲν γὰρ λέγεις, ἴδεν τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ ψηφίσματος
 ἐποιῶσα, ὅτι τὰς τάφρους τὰς περὶ τὰ τεῖχη καλῶς
 ἐτάφρυνσε, θαυμάζω σόν. τοῦ γὰρ ταῦτ' ἐξεργασθῆ-

ναι καλῶς τὸ γεγενῆσθαι τοῦτων αἴτιον μείζω κατηγορίαν ἔχει· οὐ γὰρ περιχαρακασάντα χρή τὰ τεῖχη οἷε τὰς δημοσίας ταφάς ἀνελόντα τὸν ὀρθῶς πεπολιτευμένον δωρεὰς αἰτεῖν, ἀλλ' ἀγαθοῦ τιμῶς αἴτιον
 237 γεγεννημένον τῇ πόλει. εἰ δὲ ἴξεῖς ἐπὶ τὸ δεῦτερον μέρος τοῦ ψηφίσματος, ἐν ᾧ πεπλάηκας γράψω ὥς ἔστιν ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς καὶ διατελεῖ λόγων καὶ πράττων τὰ ἄριστα τῷ ἔθνει τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἀφελὼν τὴν ἀλαζυνείαν καὶ τὴν κίμπον τοῦ ψηφίσματος ἄψαι τῶν ἔργων, ἐπέταξον ἡμῖν ὅ τι λέγεις. τὰς μὲν γὰρ περὶ τοὺς Ἀμφισσείας καὶ τοὺς Ἑρβόειας δωροδοκίας παραλείπω· ὅταν δὲ τῆς πρὸς Θηβαίους συμμαχίας τὰς αἰτίας ἀνατιπῇς Δημοσθέει, τοὺς μὲν ἀγνοούντας ἐξαπατῇς, τοὺς δ' εἰδότες καὶ ἀνταγομένους ὑβρίζεις. ἀφελὼν γὰρ τὴν καιρίαν καὶ τὴν δόξαν τὴν τοῦτων, εἰ ἢν ἐγένετο ἡ συμμαχία, οἷοι λανθάνειν ἡμῶς τὸ τῆς πόλεως ἄξιωμα Δημοσθέει περιτιθεῖς.
 238 ἡλίκον δ' ἐστὶ τὸ ἀλαζυνεῖναι τοῦτο, ἐγὼ πειράσομαι μέγαλον σημεῖον εἰδείναι. ὁ γὰρ τῶν Περσῶν βασιλεὺς οὐ πολλῶ πρῶτον χρόνῳ πρὸ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου εἰσβάσεως εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν κατέπεμψε τῷ ἔθνει καὶ μὲν ἰβρετικῶν καὶ βαρβαρῶν ἐπιστολήν, ἐν ᾗ τὰ τε εἶπε ἅλλα καὶ μὲν ἀπαιδεύτως ἐυλόχθη, καὶ ἐπὶ τελευτῆς ἐνέγραψεν· "ἐγὼ" 83
 φησιν "ἡμῶν χρυσίον οὐ δώσω· μὴ μὲ αἰτεῖτε· οὐ
 239 γὰρ λήψεσθε." οὗτος μὲντοι ὑαῖτος ἐγκαταληφθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐντὶ παρὸν αἰτῶν κινεῖται, οἷκ αἰτούντων Ἀθηναίων, αἵτις ἑσάν κατέπεμψε τριακῆσια τάλαντα τῷ ἔθνει· ἃ σωφρογῶν οἷκ εἰδέατο. ὁ δὲ κομίζων ἢν τὸ χρυσίον καιρὸς καὶ φόβος καὶ χρεια

συμμαχῶν. τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ τὴν Θηβαίων συμμαχίαν ἐξαιργάζετο. σὺ δὲ τὸ μὲν τῶν Θηβαίων ὄνομα καὶ τὸ τῆς δυστυχεστάτης συμμαχίας ἐνοχλεῖς αἰετὶ λέγων, τὰ δ' ἐβρομώκοιτα τάλαντα ἱποσιωπῆς ἢ παραλαβῶν τοῦ βασιλικοῦ χρυσίου ἀπεστέρησας. οὐ δὲ ἐνδείαν μὲν χρημάτων ἔνκα πέντε 240 τάλαντων εἰ ξένοι τοῖς Θηβαίοις τὴν ἄκραν οὐ παρέδοσαν; διὰ ἑνῆα δὲ τάλαντα ἀργυρίου πάντων Ἀρκείων ἐξεληλυθόντων καὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἐτοίμων ἔντων βοηθεῖν ἢ πρῆξις οὐ γεγένηται; σὺ δὲ πλουτίς καὶ ταῖς ἰδοκαῖς ταῖς σπαντοῦς χορηγεῖς. καὶ τὸ κεφάλαιον, τὸ μὲν βασιλικὸν χρυσίον παρὰ τοῦτω, οἱ δὲ κίνδυνοι παρ' ἡμῖν.

Ἄξιον δ' ἐστὶ καὶ τὴν ἀπαιδευσίαν αὐτῶν θεω- 241
 ρῆσαι· εἰ γὰρ τολμήσει Κτησιφῶν μὲν Δημοσθέειν παρακαλεῖν λέγοντα εἰς ἡμῶς, οἷτος δ' ἀναβὰς ἐαυτὸν ἐγκωμιάσει, βαρύτερον τῶν ἔργων ἂν πεπόνθατε τὸ ἀκρόαμα γίνεται. ὅπου γὰρ εἴ τοις μὲν ὅντως ἀνέρας ἀγαθούς, οἷς πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ στίσιμην ἔργα, εἴαν τοῖς κατ' ἐαυτῶν ἐπαίτους λέγωσιν, οὐ φέρομεν ὅταν δὲ ἄνθρωπος ἀσχήνη τῆς πόλεως γεγογὼς ἐαυτὸν ἐγκωμιάξῃ, τίς ἂν τῷ τοιαῦτα καρτερήσκειν ἀκούων;

Ἀπὸ μὲν οὖν τῆς ἀναισχύντου πραγματείας, εἴαν 242
 σωφρογῆς, ἀποστήσῃ, ποιεῖται δὲ ὁ Κτησιφῶν εἰς σπαντοῦς τὴν ἀπολογίαν. οὐ γὰρ εἴ σου τοῦτο γε σκίψῃ, ὥς οὐ δυνατὸς εἶ λέγειν. καὶ γὰρ ἄτοπόν σοι συμβαίνει, εἰ πρῆξῃ μὲν ποτ' ὑπέμεινας πρεσβυτέρους ὥς Κλεοπάτραν τὴν Φιλίππου θυγατέρα χειροτονεῖσθαι συναχθεσόμενος ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Μο-

λοττῶν βασιλέως Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτῇ, νυνὶ δὲ οὐ
 φήσεις δύνασθαι λέγειν. ἔπειτα γυναικα μὲν ἄλλο-
 τρίαν πειθοῦσαν δύναιται παραμυθεῖσθαι, γράψας δὲ
 243 μισθοῦ ψήφισμα οὐκ ἀπολογίῃ; ἢ τοιοῦτός ἐστιν
 ὃν γέγραφας στεφανοῦσθαι, οἷος μὴ γιγνώσκισθαι
 ὑπὸ τῶν εἰς πεποιθότων, ἂν μὴ τίς σοι συνεῖπῃ;
 ἐπερώτησόν τῳ τοὺς δικαστὰς εἰ ἐγίνωσκον Χαβρίαν
 καὶ Ἰφικράτην καὶ Τιμόθεον, καὶ πυνθῶ παρ' αὐτῶν
 διὰ τί τὰς δωρεὰς αὐτοῖς ἔδωκαν καὶ τὰς εἰκόνas
 ἔστησαν. ἅπαντες γὰρ ἅμα σοι ἀποκρινοῦνται ὅτι
 Χαβρία μὲν διὰ τὴν περὶ Νάξου ναυμαχίαν, Ἰφικρά-
 τει δὲ ὅτι μόραν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀπέκτεινε, Τιμόθεον
 δὲ διὰ τὸν περίπλοον τὸν εἰς Κέρκυραν, καὶ ἄλλοις,
 ὧν ἑκάστῳ πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ κατὰ πόλεμον ἔργα πέ-
 244 πρακται. Δημοσθένης δ' εἴαν τις ἐρωτᾷ διὰ τί οὐ δώ-
 σετε; ὅτι δωροδόκος, ὅτι δειλός, ὅτι τὴν τάξιν ἔλιπε,
 καὶ πότερον τοῦτον τιμῆσετε, ἢ ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀτιμώ-
 σετε καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τελευτήσαντας;
 οὐς νομίζεθ' ὁρᾶν σχετλιάζοντας εἰ οὗτος στεφανωθή-
 σεται. καὶ γὰρ ἂν εἴη δεινόν, ὃ Ἀθηναῖοι, εἰ τὰ μὲν
 ξίλα καὶ τοὺς λίθους καὶ τὸν σιδήρον, τὰ ἄφωνα
 καὶ ἀγνώμονα, εἴαν τῷ ἐμπεσόντι ἀποκτείνῃ, ὑπερ-
 ορίζομεν, καὶ εἴαν τις αὐτὸν διαχρήσῃται, τὴν χεῖρα
 τὴν τοῦτο πράξασαν χωρὶς τοῦ σώματος θάπτομεν,
 245 Δημοσθένην δὲ, ὃ Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸν γράψαντα μὲν τὴν
 πανυστάτην ἔξωδον, προδόντα δὲ τοὺς στρατιώτας,
 τοῦτον ἡμεῖς τιμῆσετε. οὐκοῦν ὑβρίζονται μὲν οἱ
 τελευτήσαντες, ἀθυρότεροι δὲ οἱ ζῶντες γίγνονται
 ὁρῶντες τῆς ἀρετῆς ἄδλον τὸν θάνατον κείμενοι,
 τὴν δὲ μνήμην ἐπιλείπουσαν. τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, εἴαν

ἐπερωτῶσαν ἡμᾶς οἱ νεώτεροι πρὸς ποῖον χρὴ παρά-
 δειγμα αὐτοὺς τὸν βίον ποιεῖσθαι, τί κρινεῖτε; εὖ 246
 γὰρ ἴστε, ὅτι οὐχ αἱ παλαιστραι οὐδὲ τὰ διδα-
 σκαλεῖα οἷο' ἢ μουσικὴ μόνον παιδεύει τοὺς νεω-
 τέρους ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον τὰ δημόσια κηρύγματα.
 κηρυττεταί τις ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ ὅτι στεφανοῦται ἀρε-
 τῆς ἔρεκα καὶ ἀνδραγαθίας καὶ εὐνοίας ἄνθρωπος
 ἀσχημονᾶν τῷ βίῳ καὶ βδελυρός· ὁ δὲ γε νεώτερος
 ταῦτ' ἰδὼν διεφθάρη. εἰκὴν τις δέδωκε ποτηρὸς καὶ
 ποτιστοῦ ὡς περ Κτησιφῶν· οἱ δὲ γε ἄλλοι πε-
 παιδεύονται. τὰναντία τις ψηφισάμενος τῶν καλῶν
 καὶ δικαίων ἐπαυελθὼν οἴκαδε παιδεύει τὸν υἱόν· ὁ
 δὲ γε εἰκότως οὐ πείθεται, ἀλλὰ τὸ νοθετεῖν ἐνταῖθα
 ἐνοχλεῖν ἤδη καὶ δικαίως ἐνομάζεται. ὥς οὖν μὴ 247
 μῶνον κρίνομεν ἀλλὰ καὶ θεωρούμενοι, οὕτω τὴν
 ψήφον φέρετε, εἰς ἀπολογισμὸν τοῖς νῦν μὲν οὐ
 παροῖσι τῶν πολιτῶν, ἐπερησομένοις δὲ ἡμᾶς τί
 εἰσκάζετε. εὖ γὰρ ἴστε, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅτι τοιαύτη
 δοξαι ἢ πόλις εἴηαι. ὅπως τις ἂν ἦ ὁ κηρυττόμενος·
 ἔστι δὲ ἀρετὸς μὴ τοῖς προγόνοις ἀλλὰ τῇ Δημο-
 σθένης ἀναγνῶντα προσεικασθῆναι. πῶς οὖν ἂν τις 248
 τὴν τοιαύτην ἀσχήνην ἐκφύγοι; εἴαν τοὺς προκατα-
 λαμβάνοντας τὰ κοινὰ καὶ φιλάνθρωπα τῶν ὀνομά-
 των, ἀπίστους ὄντας τοῖς ἥθεσι, φυλάξῃσθε. ἢ γὰρ
 εἴνοια καὶ τὸ τῆς δημοκρατίας ὄνομα κεῖται μὲν ἐν
 μέσῳ, φθάνουσι δ' ἐπ' αὐτὰ καταφείγοντες τῷ λόγῳ
 ὥς ἐπὶ πολλοὶ οἱ τοῖς ἔργοις πλείστον ἀπέχοντες,
 ὅταν οὖν λάβῃτε ῥήτορα [ξενικῶν] στεφάνων καὶ 249
 κηρυγμάτων ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἐπιθυμοῦντα, ἐπαν-
 ἀγειν αὐτὸν κελεύετε τὸν λόγον, ὥς περ καὶ τὰς

βεβαιώσεις τῶν κτημάτων ὁ νόμος κελεύει ποιῆσθαι, εἰς βίον ἀξιώχρεων καὶ τρόπον σάφρονα. ὅτῳ δὲ ταῦτα μὴ μαρτυρεῖται, μὴ βεβαιώτε αὐτῷ τοῖς ἐπαίνους, καὶ τίς δημοκρατίας ἐπιμελήσῃτε ἤδη
 250 διαφεντούσης ὑμῶν. ἢ οὐ δεινὸν δοκεῖ ὑμῖν εἶναι εἰ τὸ μὲν βουλευτήριον καὶ ὁ δῆμος παρορᾶται, αἱ δ' ἐπιστολαὶ καὶ πρεσβεῖαι ἀφικνούνται εἰς ἰδιωτικὰς οἰκίας, οὐ παρὰ τῶν τυχεπτῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀλλὰ παρὰ τῶν πρωτεύοντων ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ καὶ τῇ Εὐρώπῃ; καὶ ἐφ' οἷς ἐστὶν ἐκ τῶν νόμων ξυγία θάνατος, ταῦτά τινες οὐκ ἐξαγορεύονται πρήττειν ἀλλ' ὁμολογῶσιν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ, καὶ τὰς ἐπιστολὰς ἀλλήλοις παραγαγεγνῶσκουσιν, καὶ παρακελεύονται ὑμῶν οἱ μὲν βλέπειν εἰς τὰ ἑαυτῶν πρόσωπα ὥς φυλάκες τῆς δημοκρατίας, ἕτεροι δ' αἰτοῦσι δωρεὰς ὥς σωτῆρες
 251 τῆς πόλεως ὄντες. ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἐκ τῆς ἀθυμίας τῶν συμβεβηκότων ὥσπερ παραγεγηρακὸς ἢ παρανοίας ἐαλωκὸς ἀπὸ μόνων τοῦτομα τῆς δημοκρατίας περιποιεῖται, τῶν δ' ἔργων ἑτέροις παρακεχώρηκεν. ἔπειτ' ἀπέρχεσθε ἐκ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν οὐ βουλευσάμενοι, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐκ τῶν ἑρινῶν, τὰ περιόντα νειμάμενοι. ὅτι ὁ οὐ ληρῶ, ἐκείθεν τὸν λόγον θεωρήσατε. ἐγίνετό τις (ἵχθημαι δὲ πολλὰς μεμνημένος τὰς ἀτυχίας τῆς πόλεως) ἐνταῦθα ἀνὴρ ἰδιωτής, ὃς ἐκπλεῖν εἰς Σάμον ἐπιχειρήσας ὥς προῦς τῆς πατρίδος ἀθήμερὸν ὑπὸ τῆς ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλῆς θανάτῳ ἐξημάρθη. ἕτερος δ' ἐκπλεῖστας ἰδιωτής εἰς Ῥώαν, ὅτι τὸν φάσαν ἀναιδέως ἤτεχε, πρόφην ποτὲ ἐτηγγαλέη καὶ ἵται αἱ ψῆφαι αὐτῷ ἐγίνετο· εἰ δὲ μία μόνον μετέπεσεν, ὑπερήμιστ'

ἂν ἢ ἀπέθαιεν, ἀντιθῶμεν δὴ τὸ νῦν γιγνόμενον. 253
 ἀνὴρ ῥήτωρ, ὁ πάντων τῶν κακῶν αἴτιος, ἔλιπε μὲν τὴν ἀπὸ στρατοπέδου τάξιν, ἀπέδρα δ' ἐκ τῆς πόλεως οὗτος στεφανοῦσθαι ἀξιοῖ καὶ κηρύττεσθαι οἶται εἶναι. οἷκ ἀσπόμεψετε τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὥς κοινὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων συμφορὰν; ἢ συλλαβόντες ὥς ληστήν τῶν πραγμάτων, ἐπ' ὀνομάτων διὰ τῆς πολιτείας πλείοντα, τιμωρήσεσθε; καὶ τὸν καιρὸν μέμνησθε 254
 ἐν ᾧ τὴν ψῆφον φέρετε. ἡμερῶν μὲν ὀλίγων μέλλει τὰ Πίθια γιγνεσθαι καὶ τὸ συνέδριον τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων συλλεγεσθαι διαβέβληται δ' ἡ πέλις ἐκ τῶν Δημοσθένους πολιτευμάτων περὶ τοῖς νῦν καιροῖς· εἴξατε δ', εἰ μὲν τοῦτον στεφανώσητε, ὁμογνώμο-
 90 νες εἶναι ταῖς παραβαίνουσι τὴν κοινὴν εἰρήνην, εἰ δὲ τοῦταῖτον τοιούτου πράξητε, ἀπολύσετε τὸν δῆμον τῶν αἰτιῶν.

Μη οὖν ὥς ἐπὲρ ἀλλοτρίας ἀλλ' ὥς ὑπὲρ οἰκείας 255
 τῆς πόλεως βουλευέσθε, καὶ τὰς φιλοτιμίας μὴ νέματε ἀλλὰ κρίετε, καὶ τὰς δωρεὰς εἰς βελτίω σώματα καὶ ἀξιώλογότερους ἀνδρας ἀπόδεσθε. καὶ μὴ μόνον τοῖς ἀσὶν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ὄμμασι διαβλέψαντες εἰς ὑμῶν αἰτοῖς βουλευέσασθε, τινες ἡμῶν εἰσιν οἱ βοηθῶντες Δημοσθένει, πότερον οἱ συγκυνηγέται ἢ οἱ συγγυμνασταὶ αὐτοῦ, ὅτ' ἦν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ. ἀλλὰ μὰ τὴν Δία τῶν Ὀλύμπιων, οἷχ' εἰς ἀγρίους κυνηγετῶν οἷδ' ἐκ τῆς τοῦ σώματος εὐεξίας ἐπιμελόμενος, ἀλλ' ἐπασκῶν τέχνας ἐπὶ τοῖς τὰς οἰσίας κεκτημένους διαγεγνηται. ἀλλ' εἰς τὴν ἀλαστορείαν ἀποβλέ- 256
 ψαντες, ὅταν φῇ Βυζαντίους μὲν ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν

πρεσβείσας ἐξελέσθαι τοῦ Φιλίππου, ἀποστήσαι δὲ
 Ἀκαρνῶνας, ἐκπλῆξαι δὲ Θηβαίους δημηγορήσας·
 οἶεται γὰρ ἡμᾶς εἰς τοσοῦτον εἰηθείας ἦδη προβε-
 βηκέναι ὥστε καὶ ταῦτα ἀναπεισθήσεσθαι, ὥσπερ
 Πειθῶ τρέφοντας ἀλλ' οὐ συκοφῆντην ἄνθρωπον ἐν
 257 τῇ πόλει. Ὅταν δ' ἐπὶ τελευτῆς ἦδη τοῦ λόγου συνη-
 γόρους τοῖς κοινωτοῦς τῶν δωροδοκημάτων αὐτῷ
 παρακαλῇ, ἵπολαμβίνετε ὁρᾶν ἐπὶ τοῦ βίματος, οὐ
 νῦν ἐστηκὼς ἐγὼ λέγω, ἀντιπαρατεταγμένους πρὸς
 τὴν τοιῶν ἀσέλγειαν τοὺς τῆς πόλεως εἰεργετας,
 Σέλωνα μὲν τὸν καλλίστοις νόμοις κοσμήσαντα τὴν
 δημοκρατίαν, ἄνδρα φιλόσοφον καὶ νομοθέτην ἀγαθόν,
 σωφρόνως, ὡς προσήκεν αὐτῷ, δέοντα ἡμῶν μη-
 δενὶ τρόπῳ τοῖς Δημοσθένους λόγους περὶ πλείονος
 258 ποιήσασθαι τῶν ἔρκων καὶ τῶν νόμων, Ἀριστείδην
 δὲ τὸν τοὺς φόρους τάξαντα τοῖς Ἑλλησιν, οὗ τελευ-
 τήσαντος τὰς θυγατέρας ἐξέβωκεν ὁ δῆμος, σχετλια-
 ζόντα ἐπὶ τῷ τῆς δικαιοσύνης προπηλακισμῷ, καὶ
 ἐπερωτῶντα εἰ οὐκ αἰσχυρεσθε εἰ οἱ μὲν πατέρες
 ὑμῶν Ἀρθμιον τὸν Ζελεΐτην κομίσαντα εἰς τὴν Ἑλ-
 λάδα τὸ ἐκ Μήδων χρυσίον, ἐπιδημήσαντα εἰς τὴν
 πόλιν, πρόξενον ὄντα τοῦ δήμου τῶν Ἀθηναίων,
 παρ' οὐδὲν μὲν ἦλθον ἀποκτεῖναι, ἐξεκώρυξαν δ' ἐκ
 τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἐξ ἀπίστης ἦς Ἀθηναῖοι ἄρχουσιν,
 259 ἡμεῖς δὲ Δημοσθέτην, οὗ κομίσαντα τὸ ἐκ Μήδων
 χρυσίον ἀλλὰ δωροδοκήσαντα καὶ ἔτι καὶ νῦν κεκτη-
 μένον, χρυσῷ στεφανῶ μέλλετε στεφανοῦν. Θεμι-
 στοκλέα δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐν Μαραθῶνι τελευτήσαντας
 καὶ τοὺς ἐν Πλαταιαῖς καὶ αἰτοῖς τοὺς τάφους τοὺς

τῶν προγόνων οὐκ ἂν οἴεσθε στενάζαι, εἰ ὁ μετὰ τῶν
 Βαρβάρων ὁμολογῶν τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἀντιπράττειν
 στεφανωθήσεται;

Ἐγὼ μὲν οἶν, ὦ γῆ καὶ ἥλιε καὶ ἀρετὴ καὶ σίνε- 260
 σις καὶ παιδεία, ἣ διαγιγνώσκωμεν τὰ καλὰ καὶ τὰ
 αἰσχρά, βεβωήθηκα καὶ εἶρηκα. καὶ εἰ μὲν καλῶς
 καὶ ἀξίως τοῦ ἀδικήματος κατηγορήκα, εἶπον ὡς
 ἐβουλόμην, εἰ δὲ ἐνδεεστέρως, ὡς ἐδυνάμην. ἡμεῖς
 δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν εἰρημέρων λόγων καὶ ἐκ τῶν παραλε-
 λειμμένων αὐτοῖ τὰ δίκαια καὶ τὰ συμφέροντα ὑπὲρ
 τῆς πόλεως ψηφίσασθε.

NOTES.

§§ 1-8 Prooimium. The theme is the concluding sentence of § 6. The prooimium is modest, avoiding everything personal; well calculated, though not original. Aeschines endeavours to create the impression that he has come forward solely on public grounds. See the reply of Demosthenes *de Cor.* 292.

1 παρασκευὴν...παράταξιν, military metaphors like ἀγὼν, ἄγος, ὁ δόλος etc., 'the preparation and army of advocates and supporters of Demosthenes.' Probably the use of *unlucky* weapons is suggested. See Aeschin. i. 193 τὴν παρασκευὴν καὶ τὰς ἀσχεγίας, and infra § 35. παρασκευὴ and παρασκευάζει are frequently used in the Orators for the corrupt getting up of cases. See Lycurg. 7 § 18; 12 § 75; 13 § 22. Demosthenes had made the same charge against Aeschines in the opening sentence of his speech *de Fals. Leg.*

παρασκευὴν ὅση γεγ. for ὅση παρουσία. The same anticipation of the subject of the deprecatory clause in the similar passage of Andocides, i. 1, which Aesch. is probably imitating.

δείσεις 'entreaties' made by the friends of Demosthenes to the jury personally just before the trial, cf. Dem. *Fals. Leg.* 1 ἀσχεγίας καὶ παρασκευὴν ἡμεῖς. Lycurg. c. *Leocr.* 20 τὰς δείσεις τῶν ἐπαγγελλομένων (exordium). The ἀγορὰ was close to the δικαστήρια. τινες deprecatory §§ 58, 91.

ὑπὲρ τοῦ κ.τ.λ. 'with the object of suppressing just and customary rights.' μέτρα nearly = the more usual εἴματα. For the construction, cf. *de Cor.* 205, and Goodwin. *Moods and Tenses*, § 94.

οὐδεμίαν. οὐδεμίαν ἔν σοι. Wolff. ἐχούσιν Dobree, on the ground that Aesch. expresses an opinion of the future, rather than of the past, conscientiousness of the judges; but the present is more forcible as describing the constant habit of the jury.

themselves of popular excitement (*ἀπὸ ἀγῶν*), they carry on extraordinary prosecutions (sc. *εἰσαγγέλων*) founded on special decrees. Hyperides (*Hux.* col. 18) alludes to the frequency, usque ad nauseam, of these *εἰσαγγέλαι*.

κήρυγμα. Aristoph. *Ach.* 45. Dem. *de Cor.* 191.

τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει, sc. *κρημάτων*, cf. *inf.* 154 and 9.

τίς ἀγορεύειν β.; These three words only are usually quoted for the complete form (Dem. *de Cor.* 170), the remainder probably falling into disuse with the growth of professional oratory. We see however the spirit of the regulation retained in such instances as Aesch. *P. L.* 25, 47. See Schoenm. pp. 382—3. Aeschin. i. 23.

ἐν μέρει and ἐν τῷ μέρει, lit. 'in the part that falls to one's lot,' so 'in turn,' cf. *Ol.* ii. 24.

προεδρεύουσα φυλή The tribe to whose lot it fell to admit the Hyetenes and Pnyeteni in preserving order near the Pnyx. This was an exceptional institution. For its origin, etc., see 345 in consequence of the violence of Timarchus; cf. Aeschin. i. 33. Schoenm. 383, note 2.

τὸ δέκατον μέρος, not of the whole citizen-population, but of its representatives in the *βουλῇ*, as the scholiast points out. A. Schaeff. *Dele.* ii. 291. B.

5 καιρῶν 'circumstances,' 'situation,' *τεμπόται*, Cic. *ad Luc.* ii. 15. 6.

οποίους τινάς, *propter* of *ἀδελφῶν*. Indistinctly, 'pretty nearly such as': the suffix *περ* has the contrary force, see *δωδεκ.* § 6.

ἐν μέρος All other privileges which the State ensures to the citizen have been taken from you by the political cliques (of § 3).

τισί 'a small fraction,' contemptuously; this use of *τις* is another mannerism, cf. § 1.

παραχωρήσαντες 'deserting,' 'withdrawing from,' so *ἐπὶ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ* 'surrendering,' cf. *Idem.* 5. 25 Φιλίππῳ Ἀποστόλου παραχωρήσαντος; cf. *Cic.* § 48. Cic. *pro Cluent.* 155 *a legumque constitutionibus*. τῆς πολιτείας 'the constitution.'

6 τρεῖς εἰσι πολιτεῖαι κ.τ.λ. Repeated from i. 4, where Aesch. disclaims originality for the *ἐπισημῶν*, which may be found in Isocr. xii. 132. Plato *Rep.* 398 n. Lycurg. *Leocr.* 3. See also Aristot. *Polit.* 4. 2; Polybius 6. 4.

γρ. παρ. δικάσων 'to sit as jurymen in an action of γραφή παραδωκῶν.'

τὴν ψήφον παρρησίας 'the vote he is about to give concerns his own liberty.' For this sense of *παρρησία* (exercise of political freedom) see Aeschin. i. 114, τοῦ παδὸς τὴν παρρησίαν ἀφαιρῶνται. Cf. Isocr. *Antop.* 20. Thuc. 8. 67, 2.

διόπερ 'for this very reason,' *Ol.* iii. 19.

ὁ νομοθέτης. See § 38, τῷ νόμῳ ἔτι ν.

ψηφιοῦμαι κατὰ τοῖς νόμοις. The first words of the Hellasts' oath often partially quoted by the orators, as Dem. *de Cor.* 121. A full form is given in Dem. c. *Timocr.* 149—151, which Weidn. regards as substantially correct, but see Wayte's note; Schoenm. p. 475; *Journ. Philol.* vi. 10.

7 ἡγεῖσθαι μικρὸν εἶναι 'treat as unimportant.'

μηδένα ἀνθρ. ἐξαιρῆσθαι 'and that no man endeavour to deprive you of,' following γὰρ with change of subject. Reiske and later *vul.* give *μηδένα τὸν ἀνθρ. ἐξαιρ.* from an old marginal conjecture.

τὰς τῶν στρατηγῶν συνηγορίας 'advocacies.' The Generals were wont to plead the cause of their favourite orators when in danger. Phocion had done this for Aeschines himself when accused by Demosthenes, *de Fals. Leg.* §§ 170, 184.

ἐπὶ πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον 'for some time past.' Hadley, 799 b. See on Dem. *de Cor.* § 316.

συνεργοῦντες. The reading of A. *συνεργοῦντες* after the preceding *συνήγοροι* is in accordance with Aeschinean paucity of vocabulary; but yet may well be a gloss.

ξένων δεήσεις. So Jason, tyrant of Phœne, spoke in behalf of Timarchus. Curt. *Nep. Timarch.* 1. 3. Compare the 'ambulatory' (ambulatory, testimonial) sent from Messana in behalf of Verres. Cic. *Verr.* ii. iv. § 3.

ἀναβιβάζομενοι 'calling as witnesses in their favour,' cf. Aeschin. ii. 146.

τινὲς ἐκφεύγουσι. The orators are fond of drawing their illustrations from recent instances, without mentioning names, as Dem. c. *Antist.* 31, 100, and *inf.* 196.

παράνομον, πολιτευόμενοι 'although their administration was contrary to law.'

τὴν τάξιν λιπεῖν A natural illustration, but yet perhaps employed here as a taunt aimed at Demosthenes; cf. Aeschin. ii. 148 *ἐγγόφως λιπεύμενος καὶ τὸν γραμματικὸν Νεκλήμῳ χρημασιπώτας δειδύκει*, *op.* § 155. Dem. was accused of *λιποταξία* on account of his return home in the time of the Eubœan war, *sc.* 350. The prosecutor Euctemon had so little to go upon that he did not press for a judicial decision. See Thirlwall, v. 290. A. Schaeff. ii. 36.

ἦν ἂν ταχθῇ 'in which he may happen to have been placed,' instead of the more usual ἦν ταχθῆναι, here used following a tense of future time. (Goudwin, *M. T.* § 34, l. 6. See also § 20, n. 2.)

8 παρακαταθέμενοι: entrusting as a deposit; so τὰς ἐκεί-
 στας, Aeschin. i. 9. The emphasis falls on the participle
 παρακαταθέμενοι, διαπιστωσάντων, not on the infinitive finite
 verb παροῦσι κ.τ.λ. Trans.: 'All your fellow citizens, whether
 present . . . or absent . . . have entrusted to you . . . and compare
 Cic. pro Cluent. 165, *populum Romanum aliud nunc averti, aliud
 compelli, ut ei testis sis, curatio*. Διαπιστωσάντες a
 rare word, and in this sense I think only Luc. See I § 120.
 Collet regards γὰρ διαπ. as a Pseudepigraphic interpolation.

ἐξελέγγωμεν. *Exeleghōme Coloss.* Plural of 2nd person, the speaker. Common in Latin, rare in Greek, especially the optatives. See *Amos* p. 50. There is no certain instance in Demosthenes. See 1 *Phil.* 30.

γεγραφότα Α. γραφόμενα Β. The product time is more practically used in determining the production of the individual.

Λίστες Annual,' *Flora lat. Fossil.* p. 183) points out that in 1800 the pseudonym of Cressbourn had been ceased to be valid, and that this must have been therefore composed in 1806.

την δημοκρατίαν 'the democratic constitution,' which depends on the laws, and is endangered by tyrannical power.

εἶσρα 'in accordance with your guru's wish.' See on εἶσρα and εἰσροῦμαι on Dem. *de Cor.* § 249.

9 Having introduced the general charge (b. 809 *corruptio*)
Aeschines proceeds to show (1) ss 10—12, that a most essential
law of the state had without excuse been violated in proceeding
to crown Demosthenes before the accounts of his administration
had been duly scrutinized; (2) ss 13—16—that his appoint-
ment to an extraordinary office could not be fully pleaded in
extenuation; (3) ss 17—31—that the fact that the money he
had spent was his own could not make him a whit the less
amenable to the scrutiny. To this section all others were
amenable, and Demosthenes as holding two when the fall of
Cleonism was proposed could not evade the law.

μετρίως 'fairly well,' a house for *decent* or *st.* Plat. Crit. 104 a. τῶν ὑπευθύνων superior to the *officer* or *kind*, of which all Athenian magistrates had to submit within a certain time of the termination of their office. Until the sanction had passed the accounts of such magistrates they were *ex-officio* and could hold no other office. παρ' οὗς 'conformity to which,' so *propter, beside*, the adverbial sense of παρ being developed from the comparative.

προσλαμβάνοντες 'securing the support of,' cf. § 126.

πύρρῳθεν προκατελάβανον 'anticipated lung beforehand,'
κηρύγμασιν 'by public recollections.'

10 ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσιν. Delree first proposed to strike out these words. It seems improbable that Aeschines would here describe as a matter of ordinary occurrence that which he elsewhere (3. 32) says was expressly forbidden by law; we must therefore take the words. If they stand, to refer to the state of things before the passing of the law, the date of which we do not know.

ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς ἀνὴρ 'and that the same man, after a short interval, should have the Court convicted of embezzlement,' lit. 'having failed in the scrutiny for embezzlement.'

11 ἀταγορεύοντα μὴ σο. *Matth. 5, 210.* τῶν τ. ἱπ.
στεφανούντων 'those who try to crown.' Goodwin, *M. T.*
10, 1, Note 2.

οὗ μὲν, ἀντιπαραβέβηκεν δὲ ἡ δόξα, εἰ δὲ ἡ ἀλήθεια ἀντιπαραβέβηκεν, οὗ καὶ τὸ νόημα.

δαλ' οὐν, followed after an interval by γε emphasising the word which precedes it: cf. *Thuc. Phil.* iii. § 20, δαλ' οὐν ἐπε γέννησε γ' ἄνθρωπον 'Exactly phronima, but at any rate, there were warriors by men who were genuine sons of Hellen.' δαλ' οὐν without following γε *Inf.* 85, and see 135 n.

προβάλλονται "they put forward a new kind of pretext to conceal" p. 208. Tpm. 2. 87. 3. But Crisostom disagrees in qualifications of this sort: ἑταδαν δὲ *you do not* "as soon as we shall have seen."

12 προκαταλαμβάνονται στ. § 11. υπερπηδήσας, a strenuous
word than επιβήσας or παραβήσας. It implies a more rapid
transit than the latter.

μεταξὺ ἀρχόντων "had his period of office was over.
cf. *Λεγάλο ἱστορικόν*, vol. Dena. Ch. § 160.

13 *śs āpa* 'that for which'—emphasizes the lateness of the protest, etc., p. 107.

alcohol, properly administered, tended to manage the affairs of the town by their fellow-citizens. But as the work of organizing the tribe had been assumed by the tribes by Congress (special decree), the tribe Band Councils appointed Demosthenes to superintend, cf. p. 27, 31. So as everywhere he was also a. Demosthenes was the name given to officers appointed by the whole people in council (cf. p. 27) to perform some particular business in the state. See Foot. 107, 271 n.

ἀρχή. The subject is obscure. Aristotle says (Pol. iv. 12. 2), ἐστὶ δὲ αὐτὸ διατάττειν πόλιν καὶ καλεῖσθαι ἀρχάν.

ἐπιμέλεια... διακονία 'but a kind of public commission and service.' Cf. the distinction between *curator* and *servus*. See Dem. *de Cor.* §§ 206, 311.

ἀποκληροῦσιν 'assigned by lot,' so § 15 κληροῦται ἀρχαί opposed to αἰστανται. The Archonship, membership of the Boule, and offices connected with judicial and tribal administration were assigned by lot; the Strategoi and other officers connected with the army, as also ambassadors and such extraordinary officials, were elected.

τὰς μετὰ τούτων, *tektarolis, phylarchis, etc.* cf. Dem. 1 *Phil.* § 25 αἱ ἐχόμεναί τε δ' ἐφ' ὧν αὐτῶν ἄλλα ταχέως καὶ στρατηγούς καὶ φυλάρχους καὶ ἱππάρχους δίοι.

πραγματείας... ἐπιμελίας. κατὰ ψήφισμα 'according to special vote,' as opposed to the regular yearly officers appointed according to law.

14 νόμον ὑμέτερον 'a law of yours.'

ἐπιστάτας. The title of ἐπιστάτης was applied not only to the chairman of the senate and assembly, but also to the directors of the public works, *τεχνοποιοί, ταμνοποιοί, etc.* *Dict. Ant.* s. v. Grote, *Hist. Gr.* vi. ch. x. p. 308. Thirlwall, *ii.* 141. 152.

τεχοποιοί. The *τεχνοποιοί* were considered to hold a judicial office (ἀρχή) and in that capacity had a *πρυτανία* *ἐπιμελίας*, commencing and directing judicial proceedings within their several departments. (Cf. *Dem.* *de Cor.* 118 *αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀρχῇ ἐκτελεσθῆναι εἰρηγῶν ἐν δικαστηρίῳ πρυτανίαν καὶ πρυτανίαν*, *Hieronymus*, 91. See *Thuc.* *ii.* 447 s. 1899 a. *ἔστι* of course D. was not so in 339; here again therefore the *πρυτανία* originally composed in 339 seems to be used unaltered.

15 δοκιμασθέντας 'after passing the scrutiny,' which every man at Athens had to stand before entering on an office. The examination related to his private character, his conduct to his parents, his fulfillment of religious obligations, and his Athenian birth, and the like. See Demosthenes 2 § 17. All kinds of Magistrates whether created by lot or election had to undergo a *δοκιμασία*, as well as the public *ἑστέρας* and the *ἑστέρας*, some before the Boule, others in a law court. *Hieronymus* s. v. *δοκιμασία*.

ἐγγράφειν 'to give the auditors an account of his administration in writing.'

τὸν γραμματέα. W. holds that this must mean the public Clerk, as the Clerk of the *Λογιστῶν* would not be mentioned first. ἀναγνώσεται. cf. *ἡ γραμματεία*. cf. § 124.

16 ἀπομνημονεύειν 'to repeat by memory,' see Shilleto to Dem. *F. L.* § 14. ὑποβάλλειν 'to intimate to them in reply,' "Verbum cuius proprius est usus ad confutandas adversarii objectiones." Shilleto on Dem. *F. L.* § 101.

προσδέχεσθε, cf. § 134, *σοφιστῆς* § 137.

οἰόμενον... ἀναιρήσειν. G. M. T. § 136. ῥήμασι §§ 92, 202.

17 ἄφυκτον "omnis vis stibrens effugi et declinari nequit." Reiske. "Argumentum inductibile." Demosthenes does use this argument very forcibly, *de Cor.* § 111.

μᾶς ἑκατόν In the *ψήφισμα*, probably spurious, quoted *de Cor.* 118 (cf. *Pseudo-Plutarch*, 841) Demosthenes is said to have contributed three talents, or one hundred and eighty minae. Boeckh (*Statist.* i. 288) suggests that Aeschines confounded the sum with the *ἑκατὸν μᾶς* mentioned *de Cor.* 118 as contributed *ἐν τῇ πόλει*.

εὐθυνα. "εὐθυνα et εὐθυνη promiscue videntur Graeci usurpare." Shilleto to Dem. *F. L.* § 19. The former however seems to have the better authority.

τῶν καὶ ὅπως οὖν 'who have come forward in any way whatever for the management of public affairs.' Cf. *de Cor.* 257 and inf. § 22.

18 διδάξω δὲ 'And this I will illustrate to you first of all by instances where it would not be expected.' *ἔπι* with the nominative of examples. Cf. *Isocr.* *Phil.* 40, *ἐπὶ πελοποννησιακά*.

συλλήβδην 'collectively,' κατὰ σῶμα 'individually,' τοὺς τὰ γέρα... 'though they receive only honorary stipends,' i.e. the contributions, *ἐστέρας*, etc. perhaps money presented at the temples. "Residua et vestigia et emolumenta ipsis vi sacerdotum quo fungebantur, propria." Reiske. τὰ γένη the families in which the priesthood was hereditary. "Familiae domus sacerdotum in sacris Eleusiniis, quantum illa ab Eleusiniis, hinc a Ceryco genus duxit." *Brenti. Dict. Ant.* 477 a. *Thuc.* s. 53, 2; *Xenoph.* *Hellen.* 2, 4, 21.

19 οὐ τὰ κοινὰ διαχειρίσαντας... 'though they did not handle the public money.' The state supplied money for the ship's tackle, pay of soldiers etc., but it seems to have been paid not through the *θησαυροὶ* but the *Strategi*, though the *θησαυροὶ* kept the ships in repair at their own expense. *Dict. Ant.* 1160.

βραχέα δὲ κατατιθέντας 'while they lay out little,' i.e. in repair purchases. ἐπιδιδόναι δὲ 'nor profess to be making free contributions when they do but restore to you your own, but

have, as all agree, expended their patrimonies on their patriotic zeal for you.'

συνεδρίων 'assemblies' or 'boards': such as the Five Hundred or the Areopagus.

20 καὶ τὸν ἐκεῖ σκυθρωπὸν 'and bringe youder counsellor, stern-visaged though he be, and arbiter in the weightiest matters, under your jurisdiction.' Weidner says, "Hic locus misere misere corruptus vix unquam potest sanari." He has in his text, *λογὸν καὶ εὐθείας, τὸν αὖ σκυθρωπὸν καὶ τὰν μεγίστων κέρων ἄγων ὑπὸ τῇν ἀρετῆων ἔχων*. All the mss. have *ἀγων*. For the meaning of σκυθρωπός indicating a look of stern and almost forbidding virtue, see Demosth. *in Steph.* § 63. Cf. Cic. *Verr.* I. x. 20, "index tristiv (σκυθρωπός) et integer."

οὐκ ἄρα... τρυφῶσι. 'Shall not then the council of the Areopagus be rewarded with a crown? No, for it is not customary with them. What, have they no ambition? Most certainly, but one of another sort: they are not content that one of their number should abstain from injustice; but if he commit an error they punish him; your orators, on the contrary, behave like spoiled children.' So Benselet. The ambition of the Areopagus was to be spotless. This, as their duty, deserved no reward, while imperfection deserved punishment.

21 εὐθὺς ἀρχόμενος 'in the very promulgate of the laws.'

μὴ ἀποδημήσω; *acc. conjunct. deliberative*. 'What, am I not to go abroad? No.' *αἰ, οὐκ*, *ἀρα* *αὖ* presume an alternative, *μὴ, μὲν, ἀρα μὲν*, a negative reply. Clarus, *Gr. Gr.* 613. 2. Goodwin, *Gr.* § 282.

ἵνα γε μὴ... χρήση. Weidner's explanation of *πράξεις καὶ πράξεις πελοισίς* is the most satisfactory. He cites Demarch. i. 97 *τὸν... τὰς ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ πράξεις ἐγκαταλείποντα*. But even so there is a slight zeugma. Translate, 'Just so; that you may not appropriate the monies of the state or anticipate the completion of its business and run away.' The official was *πραξίας* both for money received and for business undertaken on behalf of the state; his *acta* would have to be confirmed and approved as well as his accounts passed. For *προλαμβάνειν* in the sense of "appropriate" see inf. 239. *πράξεις* § 106.

τὴν οὐσίαν καθιεροῦν 'to consecrate his private property.'

ἐκποίητον γενέσθαι 'nor to be adopted into another family.' *Dict. Ant.* 14 b. A person was said to be *ἐκποίητος* in reference to the family he left, *εἰσποίητος* to the family he entered. A man might not escape an obligation by an adoption into a poor family. *ἐνεχυράζει* 'puts a lien on,' 'takes as security.' *Arist. Nub.* 35, 241.

22 ναί, ἀλλ' ἔστι 'nay more, there are cases in which a man,' cf. §§ 28, 168.

προσῆλθε πρὸς τι τῶν κοινῶν 'undertook some public business.'

23 μὴ ἄρπαξε τὴν φιλοτιμίαν 'do not snatch (unfairly) at the honor.' For *ἐλαττω* in this sense cf. inf. 45, 255. *Time.* 2, 65. *Item.* 2 *Olynth.* § 3 and 16.

ἐμπροσθεν τῶν νόμων, Weidner quotes Eurip. *Orest.* 487, *καὶ τῶν νόμων γὰρ ἐμπροσθεν εἶναι θέλει*.

24 οὔτοι, Ctesiphon and Demosthenes.

μέχρι δαῦρο, cf. *eis opote* § 90. *μέχρι ποταμο* Dem. *Cor.* § 163.

ἄρχων μὲν τεχοποιῶν 'presiding at the time over the management of the theoric fund, and being superintendent of the repair of the walls.' The fund here spoken of was devoted to defraying the expenses of theatrical and other entertainments, generally connected with religious worship. The office held by Demosth. is not mentioned anywhere else except in the *de Cor.* 113-8.

ταῦτ' ἤδη, cf. inf. 52 n.

25 ἀντιγραφεὺς 'one who keeps a counter-reckoning,' 'a check-clerk.' Pollux 8. 98, *ἀντιγραφεὺς προτέρων μὲν αἰρέτες αἵμα δὲ κληρωτοὶ τῶν, καὶ πάντα ἀντιγράφειτο παρακαθήμενος τῇ βουλῇ, ἔτι δ' ἵκαν, ὁ μὲν τῆς βουλῆς ὁ δὲ τῆς διοικήσεως*. The latter seems to be alluded to here, the "contrascriptor *αἵμα*, check-clerk of the treasury," as it is hardly probable that the *ἀντιγραφεὺς τῆς βουλῆς* could ever have been *χειροτονωπός*, appointed by the people. Compare Lat. *contrascriptor*, whence Eng. *comptroller*. Polybius 6, 56 mentions these check-clerks as watching over the public funds. Join *ην* with τῇ πόλει, 'the state formerly had...'

ἀπελογίζετο, 'rationes reddēbat.'

Εὐβουλον, the leader of the peace party and friend of Aeschines, see Dem. *de Cor.* 118, 162. For his law forbidding the application of the theoric fund to military service see *Dict. Ant.* 1126 b, 1127 a.

Ἡγήμονος, another popular orator, a hireling of Philip's, mentioned *de Cor.* 285. Boeckh places the passing of his law between the battle of Chaeronea and the year 330. It diminished the influence of the Theoric Board, especially on the administration of naval affairs.

ἀποδεκτῶν, *ton* officers who received the revenue, and distributed it to the several departments. *Dict. Ant.* 105 a.

Through the influence of Eubulus the Theoric Board usurped for a time the functions of these officers.

σκευοθήκην, a storehouse for the ship's gear of the state-treasures. Cf. τὰς σκευὰς... ἀποθήκη, Thuc. vi. 97.

σχεδὸν τὴν ὅλην. Aeschines is probably exaggerating.

27 ἐπιβολὰς ἐπέβαλλε power to impose fines to a limited amount was part of the functions of those magistrates who had an ἡγεμονία δικαστηρίου. *Dict. Ant.* 467 a.

δικαστηρίων... ἐλάμβανε 'was availing himself of his right of initiative in the several courts.' The ἡγεμονία δικαστηρίων was the right possessed by Archons and other magistrates of investigating cases in their several departments and bringing them before the courts. § 14.

θαρρηλιώνος... 'on the 29th day of the month Thargelion' [May-June]. *Dict. Ant.* 223 b.

ἀγοράν, ἀγοαί is the proper word for the assemblies of the δῆμοι and φυλαί, ἐκκλησίαι for meetings of the whole people. The singular ἀγοαί does not imply that the tribes all met in one place; only that there were meetings of the tribes at one and the same time throughout Attica. Cf. Schömann, *de comitiis*, p. 27. ποιῆσαι, cf. §§ 67, 124, notes.

28 ναί, for the quasi-negative meaning of ναί answering to our "nay" see Shilleto, *Dem. F. L.* Appendix C. Cf. § 22.

ἀντιδιαπλέκει 'he meets me with this turn.' The metaphor is taken from the turns or twists of wrestlers. Cf. Pinder, *Pyth.* ii. 82 δαίς μὲν αἰσίων πρὸς τὰς ἡγὰς πύγην διαπλέκει, and the more frequently occurring compounds συμπλέκεσθαι, περιπλέκεσθαι.

ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου not by the whole people, but by his tribe. Demosthenes does not raise this point of his mode of election, but urges that he was crowned for his *tanolusis*, or *alta* expense, for which he was not *παύθωνος*.

29 δοκιμασθέντας, see § 15.

30 τριττύες, a division of the φυλή for judicial purposes, as the *φυσταί* were for religious. *δημοί*, *Dict. Ant.* 322 a.

αἱροῦνται, αἵρετοί κ.τ.λ., of election by the φυλαί, χρηματοῖν of election by the ἐκκλησία.

τούτους αἵρετοὺς ἄρχοντας εἶναι, most editors omit these words.

31 τῆς διοικήσεως, the public treasury, cf. *supra*, 25 note.

32-35 Ctesiphon, in proposing to crown Demosthenes in the theatre, has been guilty of a farther violation of the law, which commands that crowns be conferred either in the Senate-house or in the Pnyx. [Hass p. 186 conceives that this was an afterthought and was not included in the accusative of 336.]

32 παρὰ νόμῳ, take this adverb with the verb γέγεσθαι, not with κέρει.

33 πρὸς τοὺς ξένους 'in the presence of foreigners,' who would be at the exhibitions in the Theatre. ἐργολαβεῖν ἐν τοῖς κηρύγμασιν 'to try to make a profit by the decrees.' The Scholiast explains, διὰ διὰ τοῦ ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ στεφάνοισθαι ἔχοντος τὰς ἐργίας πρὸς τὰς χάματα ὡς ἄρα καὶ τὸν αἰνῶν ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ. Cf. Aeschin. i. 103, ii. 112, *Dem. c. Androt.* 43.

34 κελεύει κ.τ.λ. 'The lawgiver requires, that in the presence of the people in the Pnyx, in a full assembly, shall proclamation be made.' The generally accepted view as regards the site of the Pnyx is as follows. The Pnyx, or place of assembly of the Attic people, formed part of the surface of a low rocky hill, at the distance of a quarter of a mile S. W. of the centre of the Acropolis. It may be described as an area formed by a semicircular space with radius 76 yards, containing about 11000 square yards. In the middle point of the wall of rock, which forms the chord of this semicircle, is the celebrated bema (βῆμα) or pulpit, often called "the stone" (*Ar. Pax*, 680), commanding a view of the Propylaea and the other magnificent edifices of the Acropolis: from it the orators addressed the multitude in the semicircular area before them.

Dr. Chandler (*Travels in Greece*, Vol. ii. p. 84, ed. 1825) was the first, in 1765, to identify as the site of the Pnyx "a large semicircular area or terrace, supported by stones of a vast size cut into squares, nearly opposite the rock of the Areopagus." In 1822, the excavations made at the expense and under the direction of Lord Aberdeen brought to light the projecting cubic block, cut out of the rock, with steps on each side, attached to above as the bema. Several German scholars (Ulrichs 1842, Wölke 1852, E. Curtius 1862 and 1878) maintain that this cubic block was an altar, and the semicircular area a *temenos*, of Zeus. This theory has been controverted by L. Ross 1853 and Dr. Dyer (*Ancient Athens*, p. 468 and Appendix). Wachtsmuth (*Stadt Athen*, i. p. 369, 1874) says it would fill a volume to go through in detail the arguments on the Pnyx question, describing it as one which had better be allowed to rest pending fortunate discovery or methodical excavation.

See also *Bursian Philologus* ix 631 f. Vischer *Erinnerungen*, p. 114 ed. 1875. Milchhofer in *Baumeister's Denkmäler*, 1880, p. 157-9.

τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, dat. of time, 'in a sitting of the assembly.' Cf. inf. 46, τῷ τραγῳδῶν. Weidner reads ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, but see Maury, *Cl. S.* § 45, Thuc. i. 41, τῇ μὲν προτείᾳ (ἐκκλησίᾳ), cf. 8, 92, 2 where the difficulty of ἐν τῷ ἀγῶνι πλησύνει is probably solved by regarding the words as expressing the place and not the time. Dem. *F. L.* §§ 11-16. Cobet would omit the words.

τραγῳδῶν ἀγωνιζομένων καινῶν, that is, at the City Dionysia in March, see *Diet. Ant.* 112 L. Weidner professes, as less learned and therefore more probable, the shorter reading τραγῳδῶν γιγνομένων, see inf. 41.

35-48 It will be observed that there is another law allowing crows to be fastened in the theatre: but this plan too is inadmissible. See Note A. Democrit. *de Cor.* § 125-122.

35 παραταχθεῖς, cf. παράταξις § 1.

ἐποίσει 'will bring to bear,' like πολλοὺς σπουδῶν. Cf. Dem. 37, 36, ἐκ ὅτων ἐπαίρηται. 48, 36, αἰνῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐποιέων, and § 41, τέχνας § 28.

ἀπαγορεύουσι... μὴ κηρύττειν, see on § 10.

εἰς τὴν ἀπολογίαν 'in their defence,' *de Cor.* § 121.

κλέπτοντες τὴν ἀκρόασιν 'boastful of your ears,' i.e. by false statements or suppressions of the truth, so inf. 29, 200.

36 τραγῳδοῖς ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, see § 34. Cf. the Latin "gladiatores terribus" for tempore bellicum gladiatores bellicum. Maury, *Cl. S.* § 276, Obs. 2. See on Demosth. *de Cor.* § 34.

ἐὰν ψηφίσηται ὁ δῆμος 'if the people shall so have voted,' i.e. the proclamation, not the crown. See Note A.

37 συνηγόρους. This word is used with allusion to the public advocates appointed to defend the ancient laws before the Court of Helots, when an amendment, or a new law or abrogation thereof, was proposed. Dem. *in Timocr.* § 36; *Leg.* § 146. *Diet. Ant.* 1084 a.

παρὰ...κατηγορίαν cf. § 113 n.

παραδέδυκεν 'irrepsit,' intr. perf. act. This form is not quoted in Liddell and Scott's *Lexicon*.

ἐν τοῖς κυρίοις 'in the midst of those which are valid.'

ἀναγεγράφθαι, cf. inf. 38, 39, 70. ἀναγεγράφθαι καὶ αὐτὸν δικαστήν legislator causas leges tabulis incidit publicas proponantur. Heiske.

38 ἀλλ' οὐκ...μήτε προβαίητε. An assertion that something is not the case is often followed by the expression of a wish that something may never happen. "It is not so, and

may you never arrive at..." Cf. Sillito, note to Dem. *F. L.* § 163, οὐκ ἂν τοιοῦτο μὲν αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς μὲν γένετο τοῦ Λαπίου, and Soph. *Antig.* 500, 686, inf. 128.

διορθοῦν τοὺς νόμους. For this duty of the Thesmothetae cf. *Diet. Ant.* 123 L. This regulation is given in full in Dem. *Timocr.* 20. The function of the Thesmothetae was to detect and report any inconsistencies in the laws; the revision necessary in consequence was committed to a certain number of the citizens of the year under the title of νομοθέται.

ἐν τῷ δήμῳ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ.

39 ἐν σανίσιν, πρόσθεν τῶν ἐπωνύμων, 'it requires that they inscribe them on tablets and hang them up to public view before the statues of the Epitymi,' or tutelary heroes after whom the Aene phalae had their names. They stood, according to Pausanias (ii. 5), near the Tholos, at the foot of the Areopagus. Dyer's *Athens*, pp. 200, 201, 213.

ποιεῖν ἐκκλησίαν, cf. §§ 67, 124, notes.

νομοθέταις, Doeder's conjecture for νομοθέτας, now generally accepted. Translate, 'having inscribed on the notice For Nomothetae,' i.e. for the appointment of law-revisors. Cf. Dem. *Timocr.* 21. A similar dative case occurs in Dem. *F. L.* 205, ὅταν ὁ νόμος καὶ προσέταται προγεγραμμένον 'when notice has been published (that the Ecclesia is to be held) "for reception of" honours and embassies.'

ἐπιστάτην τῶν προέδρων, see § 2.

τῷ δήμῳ these 500 Nomothetae acted as representatives of the whole people for the revision of the laws, so that here τῷ δήμῳ = τῶν νομοθέταις, cf. Dem. *Timocr.* 33, τῶν δὲ νόμων τῶν κελεύων μὴ ἐξέσθαι λέγει μὴδὲν, ἐὰν μὲν ἐν νομοθέταις. τότε δὲ, (i.e. ἐν νομοθέταις) ἐξείναι τῷ προέδρῳ Ἀθηναίων λέγει ἑτέρον τιθέντι ἀπὸ ἐταῶν ἑξ ἑκαστοῦ. See *Diet. Ant.* 805 b. Translate τὸν δ' ἐπιστάτην λ.τ.λ., 'And that the president of the proedri put the question (about the law) to the people (i.e. the Nomothetae, their representatives), and that they (the people) annul some and retain in force others.'

40 ὁ παρὰ τούτων λόγος, so 164, ὁ παρὰ σοῦ λόγος, Dem. *c. Isocr.* 75, τὰ παρ' αὐτοῦ λόγου. παρὰ τίνος with substantives signifying expression (λόγος) and feeling (τῆς εὐνοίας τῆς παρὰ τῶν πολιτῶν, Isaeus v. 130) will be best translated by the simple genitive, 'the argument of these men,' 'the goodwill of the citizens.' Krüger, *Gr. Gr.* 68. 34. 2, παρὰ cum genitivo... originem indicans unde aliquid profectus sit dictum sive factum. Cf. i. 115. Bromé.

ἀποδόντων 'referring the matter to.' The people decided what laws the Nomicatae should revise. Cf. Dem. *Tymmer*, 21, 23.

ἀνέστη δὲ 'would have been before now revoked.' The
 particle, with *ἀν* indicates something that would have happened
 in the past, and remained so up to the present. Cf. *Dein. de*
Cor. ii 30.

ἤτοι... ἢ 'either, that is to say, the one which gave authority for the proclamation, or the one which forbids.' The addition of *ταί* implies that the speaker prefers or attaches more weight to the former alternative. Cf. *Soph. Ant.* 1182. Frequently, *γε* is added. *Plat. Apol.* 27 *ἤτοι γὰρ τοῖς γε θεοῖς ἢ τοῖς παῖσιν*. *Periphr.* non ἤ... ἤτοι sed ἤτοι... ἢ dicuntur. *Isaiah, Soph. Aj.* 117. Except *l'ind. Nem.* vi. 5.

41 ἐπιφέρουσι, cf. *supr.* 15.

γιννομένων τραγῳδῶν 'when the play is on the point of commencing.' The phrase seems to have been literal at first, when poets were their own actors, "quum poetas se tragœdus præstant." This is Weibner's explanation. Cf. Liddell and Scott, s.v. τραγῳδία, and § 154.

ἕτεροι δ' ὑπὸ τῶν δημοτῶν, Cabot and Weidner here read ἕτεροι δ' ὅτι τῶν δημοτῶν, so infr. 178 ἀν' ἀπολογιστῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς πρῶτοις, at 1208 ἐπὶ ἀλλοῖς ὅτι ὡς Δημοκρίτης. The analogy of 193 τὰς ὡς . . . ἄλλ' ὡς, is in favour of this reading.

ὕποκληρξάμενοι 'having caused proclamation to be made,'
Victorinus maximus Venet. adscripta διὰ λαμπροῦς ἀγαστες ἔββα
γὰρ ὁ κη. ας. ὁ δὲ τὰ τὴν δαμὰ πλεονέμωσε. Throni.

ἐλευθέρους, so the editors following Collet read for ἀπελευθέρους as the only possible Attic Greek in combination with the verb ἀφέναι.

τῆς ἀπελευθερίας — *neumissionis*. Colb. W. omit it.

42 προξένια the connexion between an individual and a state was *προξένια*, that between two individuals or two states was *ξενία*. *εὐρημένοι*, 'who have earned,' 'obtained.' So of other honours and rewards, cp. § 196, and Dem. c. Lept. 15.

διεπράττοντο ἀναγορεύεσθαι 'tried to manage that procla-
mation should be made.' διεπράττεσθαι, to try to get a thing
done for oneself, generally by underhand means. Cf. *ibid.* 179,
232. Cf. *Lysias* 7 § 12.

πέλσαντες ὑμᾶς a common formula, cf. *Antiq. P.* 2. 243
 οὐτε τὸν βασιλῆα πᾶσαν τὴν τὰν πολιτῶν οὐτε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. See
Collet. Ant. Lat. p. 146.

χάριν καταθέμενοι 'laying up for themselves (as an investment which will bring in abundant interest) a large amount of gratitude.' Cf. Thuc. 1, 33 *ὡς δὲ αὐτ' ἀειρήστου μαρτυρίου τὴν χάριν καταθέσθαι*. 4, 87 *αἰδοῦν δ' αὖτις καταθέσθαι*. It is common in Herodotus, see 6, 41; 7, 178; 9, 60.

43 μέλλοσι τιμᾶσθαι, several mss. give μέλλοσι τιμᾶς τιμᾶσθαι. The omission is explained by reference to Aeschylus, *Ag.* 1618 (Paley) *μέλλω τιμᾶσθαι* sc. *τιμᾶσθαι*. Hermann adds in his note on the passage: "Sic in Aeschylis oratione contra Ctesiph. § 43 quum plerique codices praebent μέλλοσι τιμᾶσθαι, facile apparet additum τιμᾶς interpreti deleri." See also Paley's note to Aesch. *Ag.* 1316.

45 ὅταν οὖν ἀποδείξῃ ἀναρρηθῆναι 'since therefore (the legislation), in the case of those who from time to time are crowned by the senate, has appointed the senate-house as the place of proclamation'. lit. 'that they go to the senate-house and be proclaimed.' For the pregnant use of εἰς see § 71. Ussener would strike out εἰς before τὸ βουλευτήριον and τὰ ἐκκλησίασια. This would much simplify the passage. Cobet would cut out ἀναρρηθῆναι in the two last clauses.

τοῖς τραγωδαῖς. cf. § 31. ἀπέπρη μὴ § 10.

ἐπαγγίζων 'collecting subscriptions of' cf. *Apoclin.* II. 41, τὸ αὐτὸ εἶπεν ἀποτρέψας ἐπαγγιζόμενος = 'promised to get up a subscription for him,' and § 25 f.

κτᾶται (only,) 'may try to obtain.'

προσάπειπεν δὲ δημοτῶν 'since he has furthermore enacted in the law that no proposition be made by any other, except, for reasons, the senate, the people, and the members of the individual's own tribe or household.' ἀπαγορεύει δὲ τὸ σέναιος, i.e. ἡ ἐξουσία τοῦ σέναιος, πρότερον σεναιῶν: ἡ δὲ σημασία ἐκ ἐκείνης τοῦτο ἔστιν ὅτι οὐδεὶς σπείρει ἀποσέσται. Cf. vol. 71. Bremi.

The words *δραστής* *doxastēs* and *δοῦναι* and *ἐπινοῦναι* and *ἐπινοῦν* are generally suspected of being a material explanation of the following *ὅτι τὰς τὰς ἀλλήλων* which has crept into the text. So Taylor ed. 1760. He adds however, 'Sed videt Becker. Nam hoc non ex triplici.'

46 *lepōn eivai, ó νόμος* 'The law takes from the person crushed and orders its consecration to Athena.'

τίς ἂν ἰμῶν τολμήσειε Ἀθηναίων; 'which of you would venture to propose such ill-treatment to the people of Athens?' καταγνώμι τι τοῦτο Ἀποχρίν. 1. 165 κατέγνωσε τοῦ προέχοντος λόγου. Cf. Thuc. 3, 14. 1 εἰς κατάγνωσιν ἀσθενείας σφίον· διὰ

to Army, Navy, and Air Force, and to the 100,000 members of the Argentine Air Force. "Improving preparedness to the Athletes?"

μή γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν ἡμεῖς ἀλλὰ ἡ ἐκκλησία, ἡ κοινὴ τοῦ σώματος
τοῦ ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ. Ἐπειδὴ οὖν τὸ πᾶν τὸ ἐκκλησιαστικὸν
ἐστὶν ἡμεῖς, ἀποκρίσθαι πρέπει τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. (Cp. 1 Cor.

47 κερτρίδα

προσέθηκεν μὴ κριτέσθαι. The addition of this phrase is found in the same 1127 manuscript as the addition of the phrase "καὶ οὐκ ἐστὶν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀποστόλοις". Hence, the latter must have been added by the same scribe.

τὸν ἄλλοτριον στέφανον ἡρώδης ἀπέκτεινε.

[illegible]

45 προσημασμένα στεγανά (και 11 από 11) με τη βοήθεια μιας από τις επτά μηχανές (1940). Οι κρυπτοκωδικοί της εποχής (1940).

д-р Овчаренко В. Г. 2011 г.

100. 100. 100. 100.

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of 40-50 larvae per fruit and that between some of the variety of the degree of damage by means of an insectological assessment of Drosophila.

43 40 3 στοίδαζω 44 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100 101 102 103 104 105 106 107 108 109 110 111 112 113 114 115 116 117 118 119 120 121 122 123 124 125 126 127 128 129 130 131 132 133 134 135 136 137 138 139 140 141 142 143 144 145 146 147 148 149 150 151 152 153 154 155 156 157 158 159 160 161 162 163 164 165 166 167 168 169 170 171 172 173 174 175 176 177 178 179 180 181 182 183 184 185 186 187 188 189 190 191 192 193 194 195 196 197 198 199 200 201 202 203 204 205 206 207 208 209 210 211 212 213 214 215 216 217 218 219 220 221 222 223 224 225 226 227 228 229 230 231 232 233 234 235 236 237 238 239 240 241 242 243 244 245 246 247 248 249 250 251 252 253 254 255 256 257 258 259 260 261 262 263 264 265 266 267 268 269 270 271 272 273 274 275 276 277 278 279 280 281 282 283 284 285 286 287 288 289 290 291 292 293 294 295 296 297 298 299 300 301 302 303 304 305 306 307 308 309 310 311 312 313 314 315 316 317 318 319 320 321 322 323 324 325 326 327 328 329 330 331 332 333 334 335 336 337 338 339 340 341 342 343 344 345 346 347 348 349 350 351 352 353 354 355 356 357 358 359 360 361 362 363 364 365 366 367 368 369 370 371 372 373 374 375 376 377 378 379 380 381 382 383 384 385 386 387 388 389 390 391 392 393 394 395 396 397 398 399 400 401 402 403 404 405 406 407 408 409 410 411 412 413 414 415 416 417 418 419 420 421 422 423 424 425 426 427 428 429 430 431 432 433 434 435 436 437 438 439 440 441 442 443 444 445 446 447 448 449 450 451 452 453 454 455 456 457 458 459 460 461 462 463 464 465 466 467 468 469 470 471 472 473 474 475 476 477 478 479 480 481 482 483 484 485 486 487 488 489 490 491 492 493 494 495 496 497 498 499 500 501 502 503 504 505 506 507 508 509 510 511 512 513 514 515 516 517 518 519 520 521 522 523 524 525 526 527 528 529 530 531 532 533 534 535 536 537 538 539 540 541 542 543 544 545 546 547 548 549 550 551 552 553 554 555 556 557 558 559 560 561 562 563 564 565 566 567 568 569 570 571 572 573 574 575 576 577 578 579 580 581 582 583 584 585 586 587 588 589 590 591 592 593 594 595 596 597 598 599 600 601 602 603 604 605 606 607 608 609 610 611 612 613 614 615 616 617 618 619 620 621 622 623 624 625 626 627 628 629 630 631 632 633 634 635 636 637 638 639 640 641 642 643 644 645 646 647 648 649 650 651 652 653 654 655 656 657 658 659 660 661 662 663 664 665 666 667 668 669 670 671 672 673 674 675 676 677 678 679 680 681 682 683 684 685 686 687 688 689 690 691 692 693 694 695 696 697 698 699 700 701 702 703 704 705 706 707 708 709 710 711 712 713 714 715 716 717 718 719 720 721 722 723 724 725 726 727 728 729 730 731 732 733 734 735 736 737 738 739 740 741 742 743 744 745 746 747 748 749 750 751 752 753 754 755 756 757 758 759 760 761 762 763 764 765 766 767 768 769 770 771 772 773 774 775 776 777 778 779 780 781 782 783 784 785 786 787 788 789 790 791 792 793 794 795 796 797 798 799 800 801 802 803 804 805 806 807 808 809 810 811 812 813 814 815 816 817 818 819 820 821 822 823 824 825 826 827 828 829 830 831 832 833 834 835 836 837 838 839 840 841 842 843 844 845 846 847 848 849 850 851 852 853 854 855 856 857 858 859 860 861 862 863 864 865 866 867 868 869 870 871 872 873 874 875 876 877 878 879 880 881 882 883 884 885 886 887 888 889 890 891 892 893 894 895 896 897 898 899 900 901 902 903 904 905 906 907 908 909 910 911 912 913 914 915 916 917 918 919 920 921 922 923 924 925 926 927 928 929 930 931 932 933 934 935 936 937 938 939 940 941 942 943 944 945 946 947 948 949 950 951 952 953 954 955 956 957 958 959 960 961 962 963 964 965 966 967 968 969 970 971 972 973 974 975 976 977 978 979 980 981 982 983 984 985 986 987 988 989 990 991 992 993 994 995 996 997 998 999 1000 1001 1002 1003 1004 1005 1006 1007 1008 1009 1010 1011 1012 1013 1014 1015 1016 1017 1018 1019 1020 1021 1022 1023 1024 1025 1026 1027 1028 1029 1030 1031 1032 1033 1034 1035 1036 1037 1038 1039 1040 1041 1042 1043 1044 1045 1046 1047 1048 1049 1050 1051 1052 1053 1054 1055 1056 1057 1058 1059 1

[illegible]

διατελεί λεγόν και πράττον. ἡννοῦμαι ὁμοειδὲς ἔργον

50 ἀπλοῖς 'simple', as in the famous line of Euripides,
 ἀπλοῖς καὶ τοῖς πλοῖσι καὶ τοῖς πλοῖσι καὶ τοῖς πλοῖσι (Iliad, 467).

των μεν κατηγορούντα ἑαυτοὺς ὡς ἀποστόλους. Για κατηγοροῦνται ὡς ἀποστόλοι καὶ ἡμεῖς. Ὁμοίως καὶ τὸ κατηγοροῦντες τὴν

[illegible]

The rapidly changing world can be controlled on the basis of the new scientific method, the rapid scientific method.

ἑστὶν γὰρ αὐτὰ ἐγγράφον. For this W. does not do justice to the sense of the subject. It is difficult to understand why γὰρ is necessary in the passage. And there can be no allusion to the ἑστὶν ἡ ἀληθεία ὡς ἐγγράφον. For the date of the passage is too late to support by these statements a proposed connection with the group which is so very late. It is quite clear that Aristotle is now advancing a proposition which is no longer a question of law but of opinion. If therefore does not mean a statement which speaks in the spirit of all the laws. The proposition mentioned is made by whom? Is it against γὰρ ἀποφασίζοντες ὡς ἀληθὴς. It would have seemed to me that the sentence of the passage proposed by W. is wrong. The part of the speech would have been a part of a speech in which the speaker says that in the law there is a moral statement. He, however, the principal, has contradicted the speaker's statement.

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[illegible]

31 - 100% 100% 100% 100% 100%

the red colorless yarrow. Described was the son of James W. Smith of Des Moines. A.D. 1891, April 10, 1891. The name of Des Moines was then Iowa Territory. A.D. 1891, April 10. The father Des Moines and James W. Smith.

were joint guardians of Demosthenes, who seems to have been assaulted by Demomachos during his prosecution of Aphobus. Aeschines gives his view of the circumstances more fully in II. 43, ἐπειδὴ τῶν ἐπιβόλων τοῖς πλεονεξτοῦν ἐστὶν Ἀφίωβος καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ τραπεζίτῃ γυναικί, ἢ ἐγχορῇ Δημομάχῳ τῶν Ἰαλαρέων ἀποβίων δότα, ἐπιστάται τῶν πάντων ἀρεσίων. The Scholiast adds καὶ Ἀφίωβος ἀγγέλλει μὲν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀλλὰ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν, cf. § 61, ἀπέδοτο. Such cases were tried before the Areopagus, and it was required that malice aforethought (προνομία) should be proved; a similar case is mentioned Dem. c. Boeot. II. § 32, ἐπιστάται τῶν ἀρεσίων νόμων τραπεζίτης εἰς Ἀρείαν πάριν οὐ προσέβαλετο. If this is the Demomachos mentioned Dem. de Cor., 223, there must have been a complete reconciliation between him and Demosthenes.

Cephalotes was an Athenian general sent out with a squadron to the Hellespont, 359 B.C., for the purpose of re-annexing the Chersonnesus to the Athenian dominion. He was compelled to conclude a most disgraceful convention with Clearchus the Spartan freebooter. For this he was brought to trial and died by talents. Demosthenes appears to have sailed with the squadron, and to have had the general on board the ship which he had equipped as triarch. *Dem. c. Aristocr.* § 167, *Cicero* x. 137.

52 συσσιτών, συσπένδων and therefore found by the
 closest ties to him. πατρικὲς φίλος can be taken to mean
 "πατρικὸς νόμος ad solium patrum constitutus" = it is a traditional
 religious. τὰς πατρὶς ἀρχάς. Thue. vii. 69. "Ελλὰν γὰρ οὐκ
 ἔστιν πατρικὸς φίλος, πᾶσις οὐκ ἔστιν ἡμῶν ἀδελφεός."
 Duker. ad Thue. vii. 6.

οὐκ ᾔκνησε γενέσθαι. 'He did not hesitate, when Cephalus was on his trial on a capital charge in regard to an indictment, to come forward as his accuser,' ἀπ' εἰσαγγελίας κρινόμενου. Weidner quotes the same expression in Hyperid. *Leucippus*, col. 12, ἀπ' εἰσαγγελίας καὶ ἀποδείξεως, ἀπὸ, c. 100, of the occasion. There is a similar one in Thuc., I. 12, ἀπὸ σφαιρῶν ἐκ τριῶν. I. 24, ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ. The same expression ἀπ' εἰσαγγελίας occurs in p. 79, 171.

kai taïra hēn 'and to cap all the affairs of Midway' also expresses a climax (*totius in fine summo*), as often, alone, or in combination with *aut* or the demonstrative, cf. *ibid.* at this instance, with both. §§ 24, 106, 129, 143, 196. See also *Fl.* 22, 1115. *Thuc.* i. 18, 73. *Idi.* vii. 33. *Plaut. Capt.* i. 1. 61. * *Im* maritum omnes inditot omes aut *hic*.² For the intimate phonetic connexion between *in* and *im*, see *Oxford Gl. Etymology*, Vol. II. p. 275. Eng. *im*und. Cf. the use with superlatives *Herod.* 8, 105, *Im* ἀγαστέρων πάντων ἡδὲ ἀνθρώπων.

τὸ περὶ Μαιδίαν. Midias, an Athenian of wealth and influence, was a violent enemy of Demosthenes, and annoyed him in every possible way: he finally struck him with his fist (πρὸς κοτύλῳ) as he was discharging the duties of a choregus, during the celebration of the greater Thensia. Demosthenes arraigned him before the people for committing a contempt of the festival and obtained a preliminary vote of condemnation (καταχρηστικῶς, see *Theat. Ant.* 271 a), but afterwards compromised the case on receiving 50 minae. As a rule all compromise of an action once commenced was illegal and punishable. Dem. c. *Mid.* § 47, p. 529. Pseudo-Dem. c. *Phocion*, §§ 6, 12. Aesch. ii. 93, quoted *supr.* 51 *note*. But the law was not always enforced, through neglect on the part of the *διοκριταί* for the time being or other causes. Dem. c. *Mid.* § 39, p. 526. Pseudo-Dem. c. *Nesipp.* §§ 53, 68. Hildswalcker, *Diocretae* pp. 159—168.

ἀπέδοτο τριακοντα μνῶν 'sold for 30 minae.'—As chimes of course implies by this expression that Demosthenes meanly accepted a small sum in compensation for the insult and made a petty profit out of the transaction. He repeats the expression § 212. We can hardly doubt the fact that Demosthenes accepted 30 minae from Midias. But we have no ground for accepting or rejecting the interpretation Aeschines puts upon it, except the opinion of two ancient writers. Plutarch, *Dem.* xii. ὅπως δ' αὖ φασὶν αὐτὸ τῆς αὐτοῦ διένεως λόγῳ δοῦναι καὶ πλῆθος καὶ λόγῳ καὶ φέμῳ αὐτῷ πείσμα γινώσκον καθόλου τῶν Μιδίων, ἐκείνῳ τῶς ἐπὶ αὐτοῦ δυνάμει. Αἱ δὲ τριῶν λιαίων ἀποδοθέντα τριάκοντα μνῶν καὶ αὐτὰς οἷα δύνασθαι τοὺς Δημοσθένους ἀρξάνους πείσαν. Περικλέους καὶ Διονυσίου περιγενέσθαι. And Isidorus of Pelusium, a Christian writer of the fifth century, *Epist.* iv. 205, αὐτὰ γὰρ τι λαδῶν, οἱ Ἀδελφῶν ἄρα, ἀπέδοτο τῶν καταχρησσομένων αὐτῷ γὰρ δεχεται τῶν αὐτῶν τῶν ἀποχρησσομένων ἢ ἀγαλλομένη τῶν βίβλων. See A. Schaefer, *Doct. u. satira Zeit.* ii. 192, and Gräfe, Vol. x. ch. lixviii. p. 148.

53 τὸν ἀγῶνα καταχαρίζομενος 'sacrificing the contest to oblige some one.' Verbs in composition with *κατά* followed by an accusative sometimes mean 'to bring (down) to the ground, to destruction, someone or something by this or that course of action: ' it is an extension of the idea of completion conveyed by *κατά* in composition with verbs followed by an accusative. Cf. § 66-7, 80, 178. Dem. *de Chers.* § 52, *καταπολιτεύσθαι*. Cf. Dem. *F. L.* 515 (302).

μή μοι παρ' ὑμῶν ἀπαντήσῃ, "ne mihi a vobis occurratur." Taylor, 'lest you should make this objection, that—' Cf.

Hypereid. ii. 1, καὶ μηδὲς ἰσὺν ἀπαντᾶτω μοι μεταξὺ λέγοντι τί τοῦτ' ἡμῖν λεγέται.

δοκεῖν μὲν ἀληθῆ. Here Weidner and Schultz adopt Cobet's transposition ἀληθὲς μὲν. And again § 184 ἐπὶ αὐτῷ τῷ πρώτῳ for ἐπὶ τῷ μὲν τῷ πρώτῳ. But on this principle "nisi in modis sane loci mutandi erunt." Fraake, Aesch. i. 177 (in praefatione). For instance, Soph. Iph. 617:

οὐκ οὐ μὲν μάλα σ' ἐκείνων λαβόν.

εἰ μὲν γὰρ σ' ἔδωκα.

quoted by Bücheler-Schmidt to Xen. Hæc. i. iv. 4, ἐξ ἡλίου μὲν μάλα τα... εἰ δὲ μὴ... cp. § 96; Herod. 8, 103—4 ταῦτα μὲν... συνέπειτα δέ.

ψέγεσθαι 'to be censured.' "Exprobratio dicitur etiam ἐπερριζοῦσθαι (inf. 131) vel saltem dicitur ἐλπίσθαι." Inell. Weidner thinks a perfect infinitive is required, referring to Plat. Phæd. 62 A, οἷς ψέγειν τινὲς καὶ ἔφ. and reads ἐκπερριζοῦσθαι. But perhaps ψέγεσθαι may be explained as an instance of ἵλαρις—the suggestion of a strong notion by the use of a weak word. And much of the effect of the word would depend on the accent (probably ironical) with which it was uttered. "Or to be—censured?"

54—167 The public life of Demosthenes now occupies the orator's attention. He adopts a fivefold division of it, something like that which Demosthenes may very possibly have made in conversation. Schmid λέγει ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου περιόδου τῆς διαίτησιν τῆς κατηγορίας περικταί τὸν λόγον. ἀλλ' ὡς αὐτὸς ἀναμνησκόμενος χρονοῖται ταύτῃ τῇ τῶν κινήσεων διαίτησιν, ὅσα δὲ λόγους αὐτοῦ ἀπεπιδόκωτος γένηται. The four periods are (1) p. 54—346. That is from the time of Philip's first offensive measure in regard to Amphipolis to the Peace at the end of the Sacred War. (2) p. 346—349, during which Philip was consistently working against the interests of Athens especially in the Chersonese, and Demosthenes was actively opposing him until the outbreak of the Amphipolitan war. (3) p. 349—388, from the Amphipolitan war to the battle of Chaeroneia. (4) p. 388—403, from the battle of Chaeroneia up to the time of the delivery of the speech, a period in which Demosthenes was more or less active and prominent. It includes the death of Philip, and the measures of Alexander for the punishment of Thebes and the suppression of revolts in Greece. Orato. vii. p. 111.

54 ἐπειδὴν αὐτοῖς ὁ λόγος ἀποδοθῇ 'when their turn comes to speak.' Cf. Aesch. i. 182, ἀποδοθῆναι τοῖς ὁμιλοῦσι αὐτοῖς καὶ λόγῳ. Dem. c. Phil. 16, εἰ λόγος ἀποδοθῆναι αὐτοῖς. Ctesiphon and Demosthenes, Ctesiphon first, then Demosthenes as his συνέδηγοι. Cf. Aesch. ii. 184, τοιαυτὰ δ' Εὐβούλου μὲν ἐκ τῶν πολιτικῶν καὶ σωφρονικῶν ἀνδρῶν συνέδηγοι, Φακίωνα δ' ἐκ τῶν στρατηγικῶν.

ἐν οἷς αὐτὸς πεπολίτευται 'in which he has been personally engaged as a statesman.' The αὐτὸς is emphatic: in the oratio recta the emphatic ἐγὼ would have been used.

τῇ γενομένῃ εἰρήνῃ. Schmid. ἀπὸ τοῦ μέχρι τῆς γενομένης εἰρήνης, συλλαβάντων καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν εἰρήνης.

55 ἤγομεν τὴν εἰρήνῃ 'we were maintaining the peace.' Weidner draws a distinction between ἀγαθὴν εἰρήνῃ and ἐχθρὴν εἰρήνῃ to the effect that the former expression is used where one can choose between peace and war, the latter where peace is the compromise of an enemy. He quotes Isocr. viii. 25, ἡγούμεθα δὲ ἀνὰ ἡμᾶς οὐ μόνον εἰρήνην ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν εἰρήνῃ ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀλλὰ καὶ βασιλευσάντων ὅπως ἀγομεν αὐτήν. Cp. also [Dem.] 4 Phil. § 25.

τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν εἰρήνῃ τῇ πόλει 'the (advantageous) peace which the state had.' So ὑπάρχων τὸν very frequently of a solid advantage which one has existing, to start with, cf. § 188 Dem. de Cor. 174.

ἐγκαλῶπτωμαι 'εὐστ' my face,' as a mark of shame. The word occurs in this sense in both of the other specimens of Aeschines, cf. i. 29, ii. 107. In Latin, "capite obvelato, operto" implies despair. Liv. iv. 12, Hor. Sat. ii. iii. 37.

ἀποδιδράσκω 'try to shirk his invitation like a cowardly runaway slave.' Cf. Dem. c. Mid. 165, οὐκ ἀπέδρα τὴν στρατείαν. C. Timoc. ii. 54 ἀποδιδράσκω τῇ ἀλήθειᾳ.

56 ἰσχυρίζεται 'insists positively' on this, as a strong point cf. Thuc. iii. 44, iv. 23, vii. 10.

ἐγὼ ἀποκρίνομαι. The ass. λέγει ἐγὼ τοῦ ἀποκρίνομαι. Taylor refers ἐγὼ δὲ ἀποκρίνομαι. Weidner ἐγὼ τοῦ ἀποκρίνομαι, adding δὲ after the second ἀποκρίνομαι.

ἐπακούειν. The comparison of Mayland followed by Cobet and Weidner for ἐπακούειν of the ass. Cf. Soph. 8, εἰ ἐπακούει τὸν λόγον. ἐπακούειν is used by Aeschines as a technical term of a witness who appears when called for, i. 47, 49; by other writers ὁμιλεῖν [1] or ὁμιλεῖν [2] or ὁμιλεῖν [3] and answers questions at a time, cf. Plat. Crat. 43 A; (2) of answering to or replying. Thucyd. ii. 98.

οὐκ ὀλίγους. Cic. de opt. sen. c. 22, "ad quod iudicium comparatus dicitur et tota Græcia facies esse. Quod enim tam ad visendum non audendum sed quod summorum orationum in gravissimis causis acutata et immixta mensa contentio?" Cf. Cic. Inv. 280, Dem. de Cor. §§ 1, 126.

57 ἐξ ἴσου 'impartially,' as they were bound to do by their oath. Cf. Dem. c. Timoc. § 151, καὶ ἀποκρίνομαι τοῖς τε καίτοι καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ λογιζομένων ἀποκρίνομαι. ἐξ, cf. § 88. Empir. ap. Plat. N. C. δὲ πᾶσι θεῶν ἐξ ἴσου ἐμπορεύεσθαι.

δύναμαι, as though to remember and recount the misdeeds of Demosthenes was no ordinary task. Cf. § 280.

ἀπομνημονεύσαι, cf. *supr.* 16. προσδοκῶ *Cob. μοι δοκῶ.*

τοὺς θεούς, cf. *Dem. de Cor.* 212.

τοὺς φιλανθρώπως, Philip and Alexander, not Aeschines and his party. Cf. *Dem. de Cor.* 231, 228; and *inf.* 159, 227. Aeschin. ii. 13, for the φιλανθρωπία of Philip. The word φιλανθρωπία begins to be used about this time with special reference to the conduct of rulers, probably in consequence of Athenian intercourse with Philip. Cf. Aeschin. ii. 49.

αἰτίους γεγενημένους [αἴτιον γεγενημένον]. *Nihil sursum inartibus accideret, potest, quia latiusculum ducuntur. Ergo si quis diuis postea res rescindere velit, nihil autem quidquam per me poterit.* Taylor. Schütz and Weidner follow this suggestion.

καὶ δὴ 'accet. E. 172.'

ἐπανάγω ἐμαυτὸν 'I now make my appeal to.' Cf. *Ar. Nub.* 1080. *Dem. de Cor.* 224.

§§ 58 to 83 discuss the peace of Philocrates (346 B.C.) and the *προτέρη ἐκεῖνη ἐστὶν* in opposition to the peace of Demades after the battle of Chaeroneia (338 B.C.).

58 εἴ τινες... Ἑλλάδα. "After the capture of Olynthus (B.C. 348), the Athenians sent forth envoys throughout a large portion of Greece, urging the various cities to unite with them either in conjoint war against Philip, or conjoint peace to obtain some mutual guarantee against his further encroachments. Aeschines strenuously upheld the mission, and was himself named as one of the envoys into Peloponnesus." Grote, Vol. xi. c. lxxxix. pp. 192, 170. Enbalus proposed this measure. Cf. *Dem. F. L.* §§ 10, 317.

παρακαλοῦντες ἐπὶ Φίλιππον, repeated §§ 64, 68. Demosthenes (*de Cor.* 230) says that there was no such embassy; Weidner calls this demand an *αὐτοκρατορικὴν ἀντιπρότασιν*. Cf. also Grote, Vol. xi. pp. 197-8, note 1.

διὰ Δημοσθένην 'owing to Demosthenes.' *Inf.* c. acc. of the non-immediate agent or instrument. §§ 70, 136. *Dem. de Cor.* 49, 249.

καὶ τὰς τούτων δωροδοκίας, and frequently combines the whole with the part specially considered, cf. *Soph. Aj.* 1117, καὶ σὲ καὶ τὸ σου λαόν· σπράμα. *Dem. in Mel.* 96, καὶ τὰ τα πέπονθεν ὑπὸ Μειδίου καὶ τοῦ Μειδίου πλάττω καὶ τῆς ὑπερφανίας.

δωροδοκίας Grote (xi. 197 note) calls this 'a charge utterly futile and incredible.'

συστάντες ἐπὶ 'conspiring against.' Cf. 6) and Thuc. viii. 65, 73.

§§ 59-61 Aeschines wishes to shew that Demosthenes hurried on a peace with Philip before the Athenians could obtain an answer from the Greek states to the proposal mentioned in the last section. As he is speaking of the events of 16 years ago, he fears that his statement, contrasted with the usual policy of Demosthenes, may seem to his audience somewhat incredible (ἀπιστ/τερον), and avails himself of a simile to illustrate and justify his position.

59 ἐκείνως... λογισμούς 'give the sequel of my discourse such (ἐκείνως referring to what follows as § 168) a hearing as we are wont to do when we sit down after a long interval to settle our accounts concerning moneys expended.' Cf. *Dem. de Cor.* 227. κατὰ τῶν λογισμῶν, cf. § 50 note.

δύσκολος 'hard to satisfy,' 'fond of raising difficulties.' Cf. the opposite εὐκαλός 'contented,' *Ar. Plut.* 82.

ἀπέρχεται... ὁμολογήσας 'he finally acknowledges,' *op. Dem. de Cor.* §§ 124, 114; and comp. the use of ἀπαλλάσσειν.

αἰρῇ 'proves,' (*εὐρίσκει*, *ῥησκό*.) Cf. *αἰρετε*, § 106, in a slightly different sense.

60 ἐκ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν χρόνων. This is to be taken with *ἔχωμεν τὴν ὁλάν*, 'impressed with the idea derived from former times.'

ὡς ἄρα, cf. *supr.* 13 note.

ὅστις διακείται, not *ὅστις δὲ ε. κομ.* because many of the audience actually did hold such an opinion.

ἀπογνώτω... καταγνώτω. *Indivandū verba quae cum ἀπό κοινοῦ sunt, significatiōnem habent absolūtā, quae cum κατὰ κοινὸν sunt, Indiv.*

διὰ βραχέων ἀκούσητε 'hear me in brief.' Cf. *Dem. Phil.* ii. 6, διὰ β. χρόν. of the shortness of time. So with verbs of saying, § 69. Cf. *Demosthenes adloc. Verg. Aen.* ii. 11. Note *εἰς* three repeated, so § 167.

ἐγκαταλαμβάνη 'prove inevitably that,' literally 'catch us though in a trap.' Cf. § 230 *ἐγκαταληφθεὶς ὑπὸ κινδύνων*. § 91 *τιθέναι ἐγκαταληφθεῖσι*. *Lycurg. c. Leocr.* 95.

61 ἔκδοτον ποιεῖν 'to surrender,' 'to sacrifice,' *inf.* 73, 142. *Dem. c. Aristocr.* 140. Weidner omits Φιλίππῳ.

Κερσοβλέπτην, son and successor of Cotys king of Thrace; as an ally of Athens he was constantly involved in war with Philip, by whom he was finally overcome and made tributary, B.C. 343. Cf. §§ 65, 74.

62 ἔγραψε Φιλοκράτης. This was on the return of Ctesiphon and Phrynion with an encouraging report from the camp of Philip, B.C. 348. Grote, xi. 175. Aeschines gives a fuller account in his speech *De Fals. Leg.* §§ 13, 14.

ἐγράφη παρανόμων 'was impeached as an illegal proposition,' most likely as setting aside a previous decree refusing to receive a herald and envoys from Philip. But there is no warrant in Aesch. ii. 13, (the only reference he gives,) for the minute details of Weidner's note, *Verdum Amphipoli a Philippiro (357) accepta Athenienses inuicissimum resolutionem tulērunt quae illi aut eandem aut legatus Athenas mittere prohiberetur*. Mitford says the same thing in nearly the same words and refers to the same passage. Thirlwall criticises Mitford as follows, quoting his words (*ch. xiv. Vol. v. p. 352 note*). "But at least if he (Aeschines) had meant to speak of 'a *senatus decreto* forbidding the entrance of a herald from Macedonia upon the Athenian territory' he would not have used such an expression as *πρότερον καὶ αὐτὰ τῶν ἐκώλετο ἐπὶ τῶν*." Schaefer (*ii. p. 22, note 1*) agrees with Mitford and Weidner. He refers to Dem. *Phil.* i. § 43. Carius also is circumstantial with regard to this decree (*Hist. de Græc.*, Vol. v. p. 293, Eng. trans.). "This (the motion of Philocrates) contravened a previous proposal which, in accordance with a precedent of earlier times (Vol. ii. p. 300 [310]) had made penal any negotiation with the enemy of the land." Grote is silent on the subject.

ἀπελογεῖτο... συναπελογεῖτο, cf. Aesch. ii. 14 ἀπεδέσται δ' ἔχων ὁ Φιλοκράτης ἐκώλετο αὐτὸν ἀπελογεῖσθαι τὴν Δημοσθένει. The two statements can hardly be reconciled harmoniously. The word ἐκώλετο suggests that Philocrates was present and at least began his defence himself.

χρόνος Θεμιστοκλῆς ἄρχων 347 B.C. Θεμ. Ἀρχων deduces more precisely the preceding χρόνος. Cf. Andocides i. 26, ἀπὸ χρόνου τοῦδε τῶν Ψευδατῶν ἡ βουλὴ αἱ πεντακλῆσι αἱ λαχόντες τῷ κτήρει. The construction is very unusual.

οὔτε λαχὼν οὔτ' ἐπιλαχὼν 'neither as a member nor as a substitute.' According to Harpocration (s.v. ἐπιλαχὼν) there was a second drawing of lots, so that if a candidate for the office of ἀρχων or βουλευτής, who had been successful on the first drawing, died or was rejected on scrutiny (ἀποδοκιμασθεῖς, *Dict. Ant.* 419 b), a substitute might be ready to take his place.

ἐκ παρασκευῆς πριάμενος 'having purchased it by intrigue,' cf. *supra* 3. Aeschines makes the same charge against Timarchus i. 106, οὐκ ἔστιν ἡμεῖς παπὸς οὐκ ἡμεῖς ἄρχον, οὐδεμίαν λαχὼν οὐδὲ χειροτονηθεὶς ἀλλὰ πᾶσας παρὰ τοῖς νόμοις

ποιήσαντες. How this could be done in the case of officers appointed by lot does not appear.

εἰς ὑποδοχὴν Φιλοκράτει 'to second,' 'support Philocrates,' to take up and carry on the part he was playing. So Reiske, and this sense suits the context best. The word however might mean 'to shelter,' 'harbour,' Cf. Eur. *Iph. A.* 1229, ἐκὼν φιλοκράτει ὑποδοχὰς δόμεν. Xen. *de Vect.* 3. 1, ἡ πόλις καὶ καλολογίας καὶ ἀφραδυσίας ὑποδοχὰς ἔχει. Polybius, 32, 11, 10.

ὡς αὐτὸ ἔδειξε τὸ ἔργον, cf. *inf.* 141, i. 40, ii. 13.

63 νικᾷ ἔτερον ψήφισμα 'carries in spite of opposition another resolution.' Cf. *πικρὴ δίκαια κἀόκα*, Ar. *Nub.* 99.

δέκα πρόσβεις. Their names are given in the second Argument of Dem. *De Fals. Leg.* Philocrates, the proposer of the resolution, Ctesiphon, the oldest of the ten. Phrynion, Aristodemus, Aeschines, Demosthenes are the most noteworthy. See Grote, xi. pp. 184 ff.

ἐπαινέτης ἦν τῆς εἰρήνης. The peace of Philocrates was concluded in March, 346 B.C. In § 174 of his speech against Timarchus delivered in that year (Grote, xi. 173 note), Aeschines speaks of *τῆς εἰρήνης τὴν δὲ ἐμὴν καὶ Φιλοκράτους γεγεννημένην*. But 'the peace having disappointed every one's hopes came speedily to be regarded with shame and regret, of which Philocrates bore the brunt as its chief author. Both Aeschines and Demosthenes sought to cast upon each other the imputation of confederacy with Philocrates' (Grote, xi. pp. 198, 237, 248), so in § 56 of Aeschines *De Falsa Legatione* (343 B.C.) *τὴν αὐτὴν καὶ αὐτὴν τῶν πρὸς τῆς εἰρήνης πράξεων οὐκ ἐμὴν καὶ Φιλοκράτους, ἀλλὰ Δημοσθένους καὶ Φιλοκράτους εἰμασκετε*, cf. Dem. *de Cor.* 17, 21, *De Fals. Leg.* 8.

ταῦτά . . ἀπήγγελλε, Aeschines gives more detail about the report of Demosthenes in his speech *De Fals. Leg.* §§ 45-54. He there attributes language to Demosthenes which may be described as 'reproachful and even insulting towards his colleagues,' but nothing, as far as I can see, contradictory of the statement in the text, that the report of Demosthenes was substantially the same as that of his colleagues. See however Grote, Vol. xi. pp. 199, 191, and Dem. *F. L.* 253, 254.

σπένδεσθαί τινι, here 'to give (in the name of the state) pledges for his safe conduct.'

64 τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα, adverbial accusative, 'now as to what followed,' cf. Plat. *Gorg.* 512 e, τὸ ἐπὶ τούτῳ σκεπτέον τιν' ἂν τῶντων κ.τ.λ.

ἐπράττετο γὰρ... Δημοσθένην 'negotiations were entered into (by Philip) not with the rest of the envoys, who afterwards, on a change of circumstances, were grossly calumniated by Demosthenes, but with Philocrates and Demosthenes.' μεταβολῆς cf. inf. 79, 80.

ὅπως μὴ περιμείνητε... ψηφιεῖσθε. See Goodwin, *M. T.* pp. 73, 74. Both constructions are possible, and the variation seems only due to taste. The subjunctive and future after a verb in an historic tense (ἐπράττετο) is on the dramatic principle of using the very words of the persons related to.

65 συμμαχίαν, cf. Dem. *de F. L.* § 40.

προσέχοιεν τῷ πλήθει τῷ ὑμετέρῳ 'were watching the tendency of public feeling at Athens.' προσέχον in this sense is not always followed by τὸν λαόν. Cf. Dem. i. 6, 17, 17b.

ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον, more precisely *Λαοδότην* ii. 57.

Κερσοβλέπτης, see § 74. At first joint king and then sole king of Thrace. See Demosth. *c. Aesch.* § 8 sup.

παρηγγέλλετο στρατεία 'an expedition was already being levied against him.' Cf. inf. 80, fl. 82. "At the moment when the envoys were quitting Pella to return home, Philip was also leaving it at the head of his army on an expedition against Kersobleptes in Thrace." Grote, xi. 190.

66 ἐξωνούμενος 'in purchasing (i.e. with bribes given to Philocrates and Demosthenes) for himself those advantages he (Philip) was not acting unfairly.' "The decree of peace and alliance was all to the advantage of Philip. He was in the superior position, and it sanctioned his retention of all his conquests." Grote, xi. 290.

κατακοινωνήσαντες 'who, to the ruin of their country, gave Philip a joint control over the strongholds of the state.' See καταχερμάουτος sup. δὲ note. The word only occurs again in Dem. *in Zenoth.* § 25, and Colet wishes to cut it out.

προφέρων, *qui exprobat*, 'who reproaches me with.' cf. Dem. *de Cor.* 51, 272.

67 ἐκκλησίαν ποιεῖν 'to call, summon an assembly.' Cf. Thuc. i. 67. 3, 132, 3, and Glassen's note to the former passage. See also § 124 note.

τῇ ὀγδόῃ. In his speech *De Fals. Leg.* Aeschines makes no mention of this decree. Grote, xi. 191, note 2. The decree which he alludes to *De Fals. Leg.* § 53 must be another, because according to it the assembly was not to be summoned until the Macedonian envoys had arrived. The *Διοκλῆς τὰ ἐν ἀργείῳ*

were celebrated from the ninth to the fifteenth of the month Elaphebolion (March). The *ὀγδοῇ*, the introductory day (*προ-αργεῖ*), was consecrated to Asclepias. Boeckh, *Inscr.* i. 251.

ἐν τῇ ἱερᾷ ἡμέρᾳ. On such days public business was not transacted. Cf. Dem. *c. Timocr.* 29. The clause is in apposition to τῇ ὀγδόῃ, *προ-αργεῖ*, and is suspected by some editors as an explanatory gloss.

προκαταλαμβάνων, lit. 'preoccupying the assembly for the envoys before they came,' i.e. taking care that matters should have been discussed in it before their arrival, and that so the assembly should have a bias. Cf. § 12.

τοὺς χρόνους ὑμῶν ὑποτεμνόμενος 'insidiously cutting short the time at your disposal' by hurrying the decision.

κατασπεύδων 'rushing it by haste' cf. sup. 53, 60.

68 οἱ δὲ ὑμέτεροι ἀπεδήμον ἔδ. *πρότερον*, cf. § 53 note.

μὴ μόνον κ.τ.λ. Cf. Aeschin. ii. 53, 61.

69 ἐν δὲ τῇ προτέρᾳ, δὲ must be taken here to mark the commencement of the apology. Hake omits it, Weidner compares γῆ. According to Aesch. ii. 61, Demosthenes obtained two *ἐκκλησίαι*, the first on the 18th the second on the 19th of Elaphebolion. There was precedent for this, when unusually important matters had to be discussed. Cf. Thuc. i. 44, 1, *γινόμενης καὶ ἁλῆς ἐκκλησίας*, and Grote, xi. p. 191 note.

κεφάλαια. The same ὄγμα *συναίχων* is mentioned briefly in Aeschin. ii. 60.

διὰ βραχείων, cf. § 60. γὰρ *causativum* see on Demosth. *de Cor.* § 18.

μόνον, the advrb. instead of *μόνος* the adj. agreeing with *ἐμπαρῆς*. Cf. Dem. *de Cor.* 161, 205.

ἀπήντησαν... δωροδόκημα 'they were right in presenting themselves to remedy the corruption of Demosthenes.' ἀπαρτῆς 'to appear as an enemy,' 'to oppose,' cf. Dem. *c. Timocr.* 38, 193, *de Cor.* 15, 125.

λασόμενοι, in the usual sense of the Greek future participle, that of the Latin *supra* in *-um*, (with verbs implying motion,) not that of the future in *-rus*. See Paley in *Journ. Phil.* Vol. viii, no. 15.

δωροδόκημα, cf. Dem. *de Cor.* 23, καὶ μὴν εἰ τὸ καλῆσαι κ.τ.λ. Demosthenes retorts that if his action had been the result of bribery, Aeschines might at least have remonstrated, which he never did.

70 τῆς τριμήνου, *credibile est numerum dies aut ipse antiquitas appositum aut potius nullum esse autum autem*. Lobeck *Paratr.* p. 358. Cf. Herod. I, 202 τὴν χειμῶνα, 2, 124 τὴν τριμήνου.

τὸν χρόνον... παρασκευάζοντες 'securing that there be the time, that of the three months' interval, sufficient for the embassies of the Hellenes to arrive at Athens (παρασκευάζοντες)'

μετὰ κοινού συνεδρίου 'in conjunction with a common assembly of senators.'

κτώμενοι 'by way of gaining.'

διὰ Δημοσθένην, cf. § 58.

71 ὁμολογῶ, καὶ. ὁμολογῶ ἐγὼ καὶ Dind. ὁμολογῶ καὶ ἐγὼ καὶ Weidn. Both refer to Aeschin. II, 61.

παρήμεν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. There is no possibility here of reading παρήμεν with Cobet. Cf. Andoc. I, 111, ἐπὶ δὲ παύσειν εἰς τὸ Ἑλευσίον, καὶ παρήμεν. Ar. *Eph.* 701, παύσειν εἰς τὸν Πύλον. Herod. 6, 1 παύσειν εἰς Σηλεύς, II, 21 παύσειν εἰς Ἀθήνας.

προκαταλαβὼν τὸ βῆμα, al. προκαταλαβόντων. On the subject of the second day's debate the orators categorically contradict one another and themselves. Demosthenes *F.* I, 46 asserts that Aeschines spoke on the second day in support of Philocrates in the presence of ambassadors, who had been sent for from the other Greek states. To this Aeschines *F.* I, 57-59, 65-66 replies that on the second day, in accordance with the decree moved by Demosthenes, votes were taken, and no speaking was allowed; also § 61, that the ambassadors had not returned to Athens. Yet here he states that on the second day Demosthenes got the start of the other speakers, speaking in support of Philocrates and in favour of an alliance with Philip, and (as in *F.* I, 57) that the ambassadors were absent. To this Demosthenes answers *de Cor.* § 21 that he himself never spoke in favour of the peace, § 23 that no ambassadors were sent to the Greek states, or § 24 sent for from them.

Probably speeches were made on the second day, and Aeschines may be here attributing to Demosthenes what was really said by Philocrates or some one else. See Thirlwall v. 350 ff. 355 note. Grote xi. 196. Shilleto, note to Dem. *F.* I, § 17.

οὐδὲ γινώσκειν... συμμαχίας 'and said that he could not recognize the peace without an alliance.' The two things generally went together, but not always. Cf. Thuc. v. 23. ἀπούσης, cp. § 45.

72 τὸ ῥῆμα, the whole expression, sentiment, not merely the word (*rhema*), cp. § 167. ἀηδία, § 164 n. ἀπορρηξαι. This word

was more in use among poets than orators, especially in the phrase ἀπορρηξαι ὄλον. πνέον, ψυχῆς, Eur. *Or.* 861. *Iph. T.* 974. Aesch. *Pers.* 508.

τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀναμένειν μελλήματα 'without waiting for the dilatory proceedings of the Greeks.' Dindorf refers to a very similar passage Eur. *Iph. T.* 818, τὰ τῶν Ἀτρείδων μὴ μενῶν μελλήματα. Cf. *infra* 163.

αὐτοῖς 'alone.' Cf. Ar. *Ach.* 594 αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἔσμεν, καὶ πῶς ἴσμεν ταῦτα. Ἀντίπατρον. The Macedonian envoys Antipater, Parmenio and Eurylochus were in Athens. Cf. Dem. *F.* I, § 57 (77), and the second argument to Dem. *F.* I, p. 336 (Reiske). Dindorf. i. 28, ἔσμεν τοῖς πρεσβυτεροῦσι μετέπειτα τοῖς μετὰ Ἀντιπατρίῳ δευτέρῳ ἔλθουσιν, and *infra* § 76 ἐμετέπειτα αὐτοῖς τοῖς δευτέρῳ.

ταῦτ' ἐνίκα 'these measures prevailed, were carried,' Shilleto to Dem. *F.* I, § 48.

τῷ μὲν λόγῳ προσβιασάμενον 'Demosthenes having forced them upon you with his oratory,' προσβ. is the conjecture of Loiske for the ms. προβ., which occurs nowhere else.

73 Κερσοβλέπτην ἔκδοτον ποιῆσαι, §§ 61, 65. Dem. *de Chalc.* § 27 'to hand over,' 'to sacrifice.' Demosthenes brings the same accusation with regard to Kersobleptes against Aeschines, *F.* I, 174 (192), cf. 44 (19) Shilleto, note. Aeschines replies II, 81.

ἐκτη φθίνοντος, the 24th, see *Dict. Ant.* 223 b. τοῦ ἐλαφροβόλιωνος. The word μῆσις is generally added to the name of the month, cf. §§ 27, 67, 98.

πρὶν ἐπὶ... Δημοσθένην 'before Demosthenes started on his second embassy for the purpose of reciting the oaths' in ratification of the treaty. εἶναι 'to start,' whether by sea or land, Thuc. 4, 11, 2, but ἀναβαίνει always (11 times) of starting by sea, in Thucydides.

ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ 'acted as ambassador in Macedonia,' παραβῆναι is elsewhere followed by εἰς or πρὸς c. acc. as implying motion to a place or person; but see § 145 note.

εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καθέζομενος 'taking his seat in the assembly as a speaker,' cf. *Isocras de pace* 37 αἱ μὲν γὰρ τριάκοντα καθέζοντο ἐπὶ τῷ πρυτανεῖ, αἱ δὲ πρὸς τῶν κατ' ἑσπέρην. Demosth. *Mid.* § 163 πρὸς καὶ πρυτανεῖς καθέζονται. Aeschin. II, 82 Δημοσθένης ἀγχοῦ πρυτανεῖν, § 85 τὰς συμπροσέδους Δημοσθένους. For εἰς cp. § 71.

ἐκ παρασκευῆς, § 62.

74 λαμβάνει γὰρ... παρεγγράψας 'for, unobserved, Philocrates fraudulently inserted a clause in the decree together with the other provisions—.' *Facile est veritas* μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων γὰρ

μάτων *suppletur* γράμματα τι, *ad quod refertur* ἐν ᾧ γέγραπται. Bruni. Later editors omit ἐν ᾧ γέγραπται. For this meaning of παραγγέλλας cf. II. 76. The idea of fraud is given by πῶς as in παραπράττειν and such words.

ἀποδοῦναι... συμμάχων. 'That the deputies in congress of the allies do on this day take the oaths (in ratification of the treaty) to the ambassadors from Philip.' Aeschines gives a very different account in *F. L.* §§ 81–84. There we are told that a representative of Kersobleptes was present, that it was proposed that he should take the oaths with the other deputies, and that after much opposition offered by Demosthenes this motion was carried. Whether his envoy was allowed to take the oaths (Grote xi. 200) or was prevented from so doing (Thirlwall v. 355) by the Macedonian ambassadors or the Athenian generals, it is clear that Kersobleptes was regarded by Philip as excluded from the treaty. See Kennedy's *Demosthenes* Vol. I. pp. 282–3.

ἀποδοῦναι δέ, for δέ here see Stallato's critical note to *Dem. F. L.* § 54.

ἐξέκλεισε, ἐξέλθτε εὐέλ. See Veitch, *Greek Verbs* s. v. κλέω.

75 καλὸν... καλόν. *ἐπακατέπλετο* or *ἐπακατέπλετο*, the repetition of an important word for the sake of emphasis. Cf. p. 183; *Dem. de Cor.* 141 ἔγωγε—ἔγωγε, 143 πόλεμος—πόλεμος, 242 πονηρὸν—πονηρὸν.

ἡ τῶν δημοσίων γραμμάτων φυλακή, for γραμματίων Weidner accepts the reading of several mss. παραγγέλλας compare § 162. The sense would then be 'The preservation of (the remembrance of) public transactions (by writing).'

οὐ συμμεταπίπτει... πολιτεία 'does not change sides with political deserters.' Cf. I. 159 "ἀπομαλύνει πρόπρῳ δυνάμει μάλιστα, qui ad hostes transfugiant. In re civilis facit transfugere ad eos qui, alio tempore alios partes gerunt, modo in periculis patriam aperte agunt, modo in eius salute aperte se standum." Bruni.

ἀπέδωκε 'allows.' Cf. *Dem. Olynth.* II. 30 εἰ δὲ τοὺς ἐν ἐπιτάτῃ ἀποδώσετε.

πονηροῦς... χρηστοῦς 'dishonest', 'honest.'

ἐκ μεταβολῆς. cf. § 64.

76 φανέται. This form of the fut. mid. is very rare in the Attic orators, who commonly use φαίσθαι. See Veitch s. v. φαίω.

προεδρίαν 'the place of honour,' at the Dionysiac festival. See *Dem. F. L.* 255 [260]; *de Cor.* 28. Aeschin. *F. L.* III. Thirlw. v. 352–3. Grote xi. 192.

προσκεφάλαια 'cushions to rest the head against.' Cf. Theophrast. *περὶ κολακείας*, § 2 καὶ τῶν παίδων ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ ἀφ' ἡμέρας τὰ προσκεφάλαια αὐτοῖς ἐπιστρέσαι.

φοινικίδας περιπέτασε 'adorned their seats with purple hangings.'

ἀπήεσαν, ἀπῆσαν Collet, Weidner. See Veitch s. v. ἀπαι.

προὔπεμψεν, cf. II. 111 καὶ ἀνταρῆαι ἐφ' ἵππων.

ἵνα δ' ἐπὶ τῆς ὑποθέσεως μένω 'to keep to the subject.' Cf. § 170; *Dem. de Cor.* 307, μένω ἐπὶ ταύτων.

77 οὗτος τοίνυν κ.τ.λ. With a rapid transition Aeschines contrasts the servile deference which Demosthenes paid to Philip when alive, with the unseemly dolour he exhibited on hearing of Philip's death. 'This servile flattery, then, no sooner gained intelligence, through his spies, who were with Charidemus.' Who Charidemus was, and in what capacity, is not known. He was probably in command at Lamus or Seyros, having spies in the neighbourhood of Philip. Philip was assassinated by Pausanias B.C. 336. See Grote xi. 320, 336.

τῶν μὲν θεῶν... κατεφύεσάτο 'he invented (πῦρ ὀφθαλμῶν) a vision, and fled against the gods.' κατεφύ. c. gen., cf. *Dem. de Cor.* 9, 17, 24. μὲν followed by ἐβδόμην δέ—'firstly' modestly towards the gods, 'secondly' want of natural affection towards his daughter, § 53.

οἷς μεθ' ἡμέραν... προλέγειν 'who, he declared, though in the daytime he affronted them by his perjuries, were yet wont to converse with him by night, and to reveal future events.' Cf. *Thucyd. Hist.* 22.

ἐβδόμην ἡμέραν, cf. *Thuc.* viii. 23 τριττὴν ἡμέραν αὐτὸς γαστήρ, 'the third day after his arrival.'

πρὶν... τὰ νομιζόμενα ποιῆσαι 'before he had finished the time of mourning and all the usual observances.' The time of mourning was 30 days, and it was usual to wear black. *Lyons* I. § 4; 32, § 8. *Eur. Hec.* 1088. *Plut. Pericl.* 38. *Isaeus, Nic.* 106, 7 and 19 ὅς μιν τὰν νομιζομένων ποιῆσας. The funeral ceremonies lasted nine days. Aeschin. I. 14. For the customary mourning observances see *Idol. Anth.* 557 b.

ἐβουθύται, a sign of joy. Cf. *Eur. Ion* 614, βουθύτω σὺν ἡμέρῃ.

παρενόμει opposed to τὰ νομιζόμενα ποιῆσαι, 'he was violating all decorum,' acting in defiance of decent custom. Cf. Herodot. vii. 238. Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* iii. 26. 63 (where "opertere" expresses the idea contained in τὰ νομιζόμενα and παρ-νόμει). *Sed haec omnia faciunt opertente ita pari opertere. Itaque ut Aeschines in Demosthenem tacebitur, quod is scripserit die post filiae mortem hostius immunditatem etc.*

τὴν μόνην καὶ πρώτην, a common combination. Cf. Dem. *de Pace* § 5; *F. L.* § 332. Lucian (*Deomalia* 29) notices its want of logic εἰ μὲν πρῶτος, οὐ μόνος, εἰ δὲ μόνος, οὐ πρῶτος.

78 πατήρ πονηρός. καὶ πονηρός πατήρ—(ὅτι δ' γ. α. πατήρ καὶ πονηρός)—*patre deo auctore γὰρ ἰδὼν—χρηστός. Et sine patre auctore habemus reprobum.—Ipsi etiam patres delinunt.* Inoue. As the text stands μηδὲν πονηρός is a substantive.

δημαγωγὸς χρηστός. Aeschines expresses the same idea (that a good father must make a patriotic statesman) in ii. 152 with reference to himself. Cf. also Quintil. *Instit. Or.* i. § 10 *optatorem institutus illam perfectum qui tunc bene civitatis non potest.*

οὐδέ γε—*oratio ad minus.* See Wolff's note to Soph. *El.* 1347. Aesch. ii. 27. Dem. *F. L.* 181 (204); *de Pace* 16. 20. Weidner cuts out the whole clause.

οὐ γὰρ τὸν τρόπον, cf. Her. *Arg.* i. 2. 27 *eachem non amittunt milium qui tunc ante ecurrat.* Inoue however would strike out the passage. Comt and Weidner omit *μὲν*.

79—105. Aeschines now proceeds to treat of the sacred period in the life of Demosthenes a.e. 346—340, and firstly §§ 79—83 of the causes which led to the change in his policy, from advocating the peace with Philip to opposing it.

79 τὴν μεταβολὴν τῶν πραγμάτων 'the change in his political action.' Cf. *supra* 75. ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν πολιτευμάτων 'in consequence of the same political action.' Cf. § 215.

ἀπ' εἰσαγγελίας, cf. § 52. and Shilleto note to Dem. *F. L.* 107 (118). Of course Philonides was not driven into exile simply because he had brought about a peace with Philip. He was impeached by Hyperides (343 *note*) on the following charges, *ἡμεῖς δὲ τα λέγειν καὶ τὰ ἄριστα τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίῳ, καὶ τὰ λαοφρόντα καὶ δίκαια παρὰ τῶν ταπεινῶν πραττέσθαι τῷ δήμῳ.* Hyperid. *pro Euxen.* col. 39. He anticipated sentence by going into exile (ἡμέτερος γεγενημένος), cf. Aesch. ii. 6 *καταγὰς ἀέκλειον ἐκ τῆς ἀφροσύνης ἐπείκειν.* Grote xi. 237.

ἐπέστη, of a sudden unexpected onset. Cf. Thuc. 8, 63, 3.

80 Φίλιππος παρήλθε, Grote (xi. 217—218) gives an abstract of the speech addressed by Aeschines to the assembly on the 14th of Scirophorion (June a.e. 346), when Philip had reached Thermopylae. Cf. Dem. *de Cor.* 35 *ὡς εἰ δὲ διαφύεσθαι τῷ παρὰ Ληλαίῳ Φίλιππον εἰσω Πελῶν.* Another abstract will be found in Curtius *G. Hist.* v. 310. Both abstracts are taken from Dem. *F. L.* §§ 21 (120 ff. to which Aeschines replies in *F. L.* §§ 110 ff.

τὰς τε. Inoue conjectures τὰς αὐτῶν, and is followed by Weidner. But see Stallbaum's note to Plat. *Rep.* 367 c, *καταμύνητο τὸ ποτ' τε inferior, ubi alterum orationis membrum plus ponderis habet atque gravitatis.* He quotes several instances. See also Shilleto to Thuc. i. 25. 4. So καὶ δὲ Demosth. *Cor.* § 47.

παραδέξω, cf. Aesch. ii. 181, 136. Grote xi. 222—223.

Θηβαίους δὲ 'and make the Thebans dangerously (κατὰ) strong, as it then seemed to you, far more so than the occasion and your interest required.' πέρα implies space, distance. Cf. Dem. *pro Demetrio*, § 23, *πὲρ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦς ἐπείκειν ἐπαύριον* and Heubantz to Dem. *Or.* ii. 5. *Phil.* iii. 21. *κατεσκεύασε*, cf. *supra*, 63 n.

ὡς τοῦ ὅμιν ἰδόκει. But Philip soon succeeded in allaying this alarm by his letters and promises, so that, six months afterwards, Aeschines could say, *Φίλιππον δὲ νῦν μὲν ἐκ τῆς τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπὶ τῶν ἑσπερίων ἐλθὼν δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς ἐν τοῖς πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐργοῖς γένεσθαι αὐτὸν οὐδὲν ἐν τοῖς ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι, ἀσφαλῆ καὶ βέβαιον ὡς καὶ αὐτὸν παύσεται δεῦρον.* Cf. in *Timarch.* § 163. Grote xi. 230.

ἐσκευαγωγήσατε 'brought in all your movable goods.' Demosthenes mentions other extraordinary votes which were passed by the Athenians in their alarm, *ἐπεὶ πληγὴ καὶ πᾶσις ἐπὶ γένεσθαι ἐκ τῶν ἀγῶν κατασκήσειν ἐσκευαγήσατε καὶ τὰ φάρμακα ἐπισκευάσατε καὶ τὰ ἡέματα τείχεσιν καὶ τὰ ἡνολία ἐν ἀσπίδι θύειν.* *F. L.* 125 (137), cf. *ibid.* 86 (97), *de Cor.* § 36 and Grote xi. pp. 227—228. Aeschines *F. L.* 180 charges Demosthenes with having been the cause of this panic, *ὅτι τὴν ἀνὰ ἐκείνην καὶ ἀπὸ φίλων ἐσκευαγήσαντες ἐκ τῶν ἀγῶν Ἀθηναῖοι.*

81 There is some difference of opinion as to the clause with which the apodosis in this long sentence (§§ 80, 81) should begin: a various reading of uncertain authority, perhaps a corruption of *διότι* Schneider, omits δ' after *μεγίσταις* § 80. T. Wilde follows this reading in his German translation. Schultz and Weidner 'ex sua conjectura' strike out δ' after *ενεβη* placing here the commencement of the apodosis, and beginning a fresh

sentence with *τοιούτης δ'*. In the text the reading of the Zurich edit. has been retained. The apodosis will then begin with *τοιούτης δὲ παραχῆς, δὲ* in apodosis here repeating and summing up the *δὲ*'s of the protasis, but with special reference to *Ουδίας δ'*. [*παραχῆς, παρώσης*, of civil commotion as often *op. de Cor.* 19]. The passage from Plato, *Symposium*, 193 c, which Weidner quotes seems to me to support this reading rather than his own. On the subject of *δὲ* in apodosis after temporal and relative sentences, see Goodwin *M. T.*, p. 137 Rem. n. 64. *Μακάρι δ'*, S. § 188 R. 6. Thuc. 1. 11, 1. Clus. and Shilleto (conf. *op. Isocrates*, *Samlis* p. 43. Dobree's note is "*Legi et interpretari τοιαύτης δὲ—παραχῆς, μετά—αὐτῆς ἥδη*—").

μετὰ τῶν συμφύτων... ἐβουλεύετο 'he took counsel with his intimate associates.' μετὰ δειλίας—'that is to say, with cowardice etc.'

ἀναφανείη 'appeared unexpectedly,' §§ 161, 173; cf. Thucyd. 4. 36, 2 ἐπὶ τοῦ μετὰ τὴν ἐμπύτης ἀναφανείη. Ar. *Eccl.* 124.

τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους συμπρέσβεις κινδυνεύειν. Weidner takes this to be an allusion to the prosecution of Aeschines by Demosthenes in the speech *The False Legation*, 343 B.C.

82 κατιδόντες... τῇ πόλει 'the enemies of public tranquillity perceiving his policy were delighted, and invited him repeatedly to the Lema, calling him the only incorruptible politician the state possessed.' *καταπύσσει* here and r. 64 with the aative; in Dem. *Or.* II. 22, and Plat. *Rep.* 382 B absolute. μόνον ἀωροδόκητον, cf. Aeschin. II. 8.

κατιδεῖν, καθορᾶν 'to get a clear view of anything.' So often in Thuc. of ships at sea. Cf. § 90.

ὁ δὲ παριῶν... παραχῆς 'and he came forward as often, and gave them many a suggestion for commencing war and strife.' Cf. ἐνδεδυκας καὶ καὶ, πρόσθεν, λαβὴν.

Σέρριον τείχος... πρότερον. Herodot. VII. 50 Σέρριον δὲ ἄλγος αἰρουαστῆ. A Thracian promontory opposite Samothrace, bod. Cape Makri. In the same chapter Herodotus denotes the position of Doriscus. Demosthenes (*F. L.* 155, 156 [171, 172], see Shilleto's note) accused Aeschines of wasting time as ambassador, while Philip was capturing these places on the Thracian coast in March B.C. 346. Aeschines replies *F. L.* § 89 ff. Cf. Grote, XI. 207; Dem. *de Cor.* 27, 70. Demosthenes speaks of *Μερτηνον* also; Aeschines probably alters the name here purposely, to make it jingle with *Εργλέστην*.

ἤδειμεν, this form is almost ἀπαξ λεγ. Cabat and Franke would alter to *ἔδειμεν*.

φέρων, cf. *infra* 90, 146. The addition of this word implies greed and mischief. So Eur. 'to take and break.' Cf. Ar. *Lys.* 976, 706. Aeschin. I. 175, II. 63. Herod. VIII. 87. *Ἀσπερμύνη φέρουσα* (*sum impetū*) ἐνέειλε καὶ φέλλει. But Herodotus has the middle more often in this sense. So § 82.

περίεστησε 'gave such an evil turn to what was done,' i.e. put a bad interpretation upon it. The word here, as generally, is used of change to something bad, cf. Isocr. VI. 47 *ὡς τὸ τὸ ἢ τυχὴ τὰ πράγματα* αὐτὰς περίεστησαν. Dem. *Or.* II. III. 9.

κατασκόπους, cf. Dem. *de Cor.* 137 and *infra* 223 note.

83 εἰ δὲ ἐπιτρέπῃ... διαφερόμενος 'if Philip wished to entrust the decision concerning the complaints against him to a neutral and unprejudiced state, he said that there did not exist a neutral arbiter between us and Philip. The king offered us Halonnesus: Demosthenes opposed our accepting it, if Philip wished to give it and not to give it back, trying to make a quarrel about it.' Cf. Hecaeusippus (*Pseudo-Dem. de Halonnes.* 7), who says that Philip did make such an offer, *ὅταν δὲ λέγῃ περὶ τοῦτο ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀποδοτέου, ὁ δὲ δὲ ἢ γὰρ δὲ ὅπως*. A good abstract of this speech of Hecaeusippus, which states the case on the side of Demosthenes clearly, will be found in Curtius, *G. Hist.* V. 370 ff. See also Grote, XI. 251 ff.

διδόναι 'to try to give,' 'to offer,' in pres. and imperf. tenses. Cf. (Dem.) *de Halonnes.* 2, etc. See Goodwin, *M. T.* § 10 n. 2, § 11 n. 2.

ἐπιστρατεύσαντας (Weidner conjectures *ἀποστράψαντας*). A practical attack made at the time when Callias the Chalcidian was plundering the maritime towns of Thessaly with the help of Athenian ships. *Pseudo-Philipp. Legat.* § 5. A. Schaefer supposes that the embassy of Demosthenes to the Thessalians (*de Cor.* 244) may have taken place at this time. Dem. *de Cor.* 244 n. 460.

τὴν συμφορὰν, *Clusianism*.

84—105. The alliance with the Euboeans. Aeschines goes back in point of time to trace the relations of Athens with Euboea since B.C. 390.

ἀδαμαντίνους, a general epithet implying extreme hardness. The adjectives of the classical writers was a *γενὸς πέδιλον* *ἀδαμαντίνου*. Theophrastus first uses the word *ἀδαμάντινος* to describe the diamond (see *Aesch. Prom. Mest.* 6, Weidner).

ὡς αὐτὸς φησι. The phrase is not to be found in the extant speeches of Demosthenes, *supra* cf. *de Cor.* 209. So in §§ 166-7 *παρὰ* are quoted not occurring in any surviving speech.

85 Μνησάρχου τοῦ Χαλκιδέως. "The opportunity of gaining a footing in the immediate neighbourhood of Attica was presented to Philip by the troubled state of Euboea. Chalcis and Eretria, each under the rule of one of its own citizens, still, it would seem, retained their ancient rivalry. At Chalcis a dynasty had been established by Mnesarchus, and was maintained after his death by his sons Callias and Tamestionas; at Eretria Themison had been succeeded—whether immediately or otherwise we are not informed—by Ptoarchus. Both Mnesarchus and Themison had manifested hostility to Athens; and their successors were probably not more amicably disposed toward her. Callias endeavoured to strengthen himself by alliance with Philip, who sent a small body of troops to aid him in his quarrel with the tyrant of Eretria (Aesch. *Chal.* § 87). Ptoarchus was thus led to apply to Athens for protection." (B.C. 350.) Thirlwall, v. 259–260. According to the scholiast, Mnesarchus had headed an insurrection against Athens.

Ἀθηναίους εἶναι γράφειν 'to propose that they be admitted to the rights of Athenian citizenship.' This proposition was carried. Cf. Hyperid. *c. Dem.* Col. xvii. Dinarch. *c. Dem.* 41.

ὑπὸ Θεμισωνος. "Oropus, the frontier town of Attica and Boeotia—immediately opposite to Euboea, having been wrested from Athens in 356 B.C. by a body of exiles crossing the strait from Eretria through the management of the Boeotian despot Themison—had been placed in the keeping of the Thebans with whom it still remained." Grote, xi. 21. Cf. *Plutarch*, v. 130.

ἐκόντες ἐπιλαθόμενοι. Cf. *Dem. de Chers.* 90, ἐπαυρότατε κ.τ.λ. *Dem. de Chers.* 74, ὅτι γὰρ ὁ δῆμος τοῦθ' οἱ Τιμόνως πρὸς ἐνὶ αὐτῷ ἐδημοκράτειν, ὡς δὲ βοηθεῖ καὶ τοῖς Εὐβοέσι σὺν αὐτοῖς, ὅτι Οὐδαίαν ἀντιέλασαν αὐτοῖς. This was a memorable and often quoted event. "The military and naval forces of Athens were sent forth on this occasion with a colony seldom paralleled. The costly office of Timonarch was defrayed by volunteers. In thirty days the Thebans were so completely vanquished as to be forced to evacuate Euboea under capitulation." Grote, xi. 21, 22. This happened in B.C. 357. A. Schaefer, l. 144. L. According to Demosthenes (*Androt.* 14) the fleet and army were not ready in three days only.

τὰς πόλεις, the Euboean cities.

ἀπομνημονεύειν, cf. § 208, note.

86 Πλουτάρχῳ. This second expedition to Euboea in aid of Ptoarchus, tyrant of Eretria was in B.C. 350. His subject, led by Clistarchus, and aided by Callias and Tamestionas of

Chalcis were endeavouring to expel him. The Athenians under Ptoarchus came to his assistance, and at the battle of Tanynae defeated the Eretrians. Eubolus and Molias recommended this expedition, Demosthenes spoke against it, *de Pace*, 5.

βοηθήσοντες. Weidner adopts the more difficult reading, βοηθούσας, referring to Xen. *Cyr.* v. 4. 24; Soph. *Al.* 781; Verg. *Aen.* ii. 114, "auxilia-m." For the (pure) present participle of purpose, or rather of attendant circumstance, see Goodwin, *M. T.* § 100. 5.

τοὺς μὲν, φίλοι 'in the first instance (if they did not act with you as friends you) at any rate they pretended to be friends.' So with the conditional clause expressed, Eur. *Phoen.* 497–8,

ἐγὼ μὲν, εἰ καὶ μὴ κατ' ἔμμεν χ' ὅπως
τεθελούμην, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐνταῦθα μοι δοκεῖς λέγειν

ἀλλ' οὐκ—γε occurs more frequently, cf. *supr.* 11, note.

For an account of the battle of Tanynae see Grote, xi. 145–6. He places the expedition in B.C. 349, a year later than Curtius and Weidner.

87 εἰς τινὰς δυσχωρίας, cf. *Dem. de Mel.* § 162.

κατακεκλειμένον, rare for κατακλεισμένον (which Weidner reads); see Vossius s. v. κλεισ s. l.

μάχην, συμπόσσωσιν with αὐτῷ ἐνὶ αὐτοῖς, 'without wounding a battle.' Cf. l. 64, τῇ καλῇ ταύτῃ νικῇ περικρατῇ.

παρὰ Φιλίππου, cf. *supr.* 50 note.

δεξιούμενος καὶ προσγελῶν, evidently as A. Schaefer understands it (*Herm. u. s. Zeit.* iii. 209. 1): making himself generally agreeable in order to help Demosthenes in this trial and show his gratitude for the Athenian citizenship which Demosthenes had obtained for him. Cf. §§ 1, 257, etc. Plato has a parallel expression *Herm.* viii. 506 D, προσγελῶν τε καὶ ἀπαίεται πόσιν. It is possible that the reminiscence of Eur. *Iph. A.* 339 ff. Cf. *supr.* 72. Aristoph. *Plut.* 752 ἡ παρὸντο καὶ ἐξελθόντες ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τῇς ἐλευθέρῃς.

διαβιβάζειν = to put troops on board ship and send them across a strait: so Thuc. iv. 8. 9. Cf. μεταβιβάζειν, to remove a crew from one ship to another etc.

ἐφ' ἧρας, Aeschines was present at the battle of Tanynae and brought home the news of the victory. ii. 169 ff.

88 πεζοὶ καὶ ἵππεις, the cavalry were at first routed but afterwards rallied and aided the infantry in securing the victory; *Plutarch*, *Phocion* 13.

ἐκ παρατάξεως 'in battle array.' Cf. Dem. *PAUL* III. 49, εἶδεν δ' ἐκ παρατάξεως πῶς οὐκ ὀφείλουσαν. 'in of the manner as in ἐξ ἑσού, § 57, cp. § 3 n.

διελύσασθε. This power was made in B.C. 318, see Aeschines, II. 12.

89 φερόμενος. cf. φέρω, § 82.

συνέδριον συνάγων 'trying to assemble a Hellenic congress at Chalcis.'

ἐφ' ὑμᾶς 'against you,' cp. Dem. *sch. de Cor.* § 81.

ἐξαίρετον περιποιούμενος 'and trying to win the position of respect as a special reward for himself.' So αἰσῶν is sometimes joined to the public voice. Dem. *de Cor.* 66. ἐξαίρετον is an expression derived from the distribution of booty: when something is excooped from the mass assigned by lot, and reserved for some one especially.

90 ὑπέβαλλεν 'he offered his service to the Thebans.' Schol.: οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῖς Θεβαίων ἐκούσας, cf. *ibid.* 116, ἀπὸ τῶν κατότε. § 102. ἐποστράχε. *Eut. H. F.* 1084.

φέρων, § 82.

ἐγκαταλιπὼν 'leaving him too in the lurch.'

πλείους τροπὰς τοῦ Εἰρήπου, the Euphrates was noted for its frequent changes of current. *Ἰπτάσι τοῦ ἡμῶν στόματος*, Schol.: cf. *Ἰσχυρὰ γὰρ αὐτὴ τοῦ Ν. Π. αὐτὸ 10. Πλατ. Πρωτὸς 90 c.* Hence the proverb *ποταμὸς ἀέριος* to describe an unsteady person. According to Dio Cassius *xxx. 250 n.* this simile was applied to Cleon by a Boeotian orator Q. Fabius Caelionus. Ulrichs, who travelled in Greece in 1848, says that the current changes 4 times in 24 hours at full and new moon, but 14 times in 24 hours at the quarters. Its velocity varies according to set of the wind, and the amount of water flowing.

κατείδε, *supra*, 82.

κωλύσατε. See Goulden, *M. T.* § 74.1, p. 192.

91 δολιχοδρομήσαντα. he had protracted with a view to the long race (ἀνὰ κράτος) to staidness, *Decl. 136. 1057 l.*

ἐξωνεῖτο 'withdrawing the syllable ων from ἐσπώνω, see Vossii s.v. *ων*. But Weidner and Frauke would read ἐξωνεῖτο 'he was trying to ruin himself.'

ἐγκαταληφθέντι. *infra* *ibid.*, cf. *supra* 60 *note*.

δεύτερον δ' ἦκον συντάξεις 'and secondly the proposer of the alliance and his reward for agreeing with the Athenians of the Chalcidians in congress at Athens: thirdly, for receiving

them of the payment of their contributions.' See Grote xi. 257. At this time an embassy from the philippizing party in Euboea (Chalcidians and Philistines) arrived at Athens and stayed in the house of Aeschines. *Dem. de Cor.* 82.

92 τοὺς καιροὺς 'opportune advantages,' τὰς συνεδρίας καὶ τὰς συστάσεις in the next section.

ῥῆμα μόνον 'a mere phrase,' so the clause ἐάν τις ἐξ ἐπ' Ἀθηναίων, while the clause that the Athenians should help the Chalcidians (βοηθεῖν ἡμᾶς Χαλκιδῶσι) was an ἔργον.

εὐφημίας ἔνεκα 'for the sound of the thing.'

93 τῷ λόγῳ προσβιβάζων ὑμᾶς 'guiding you (to the conclusion he wished) by the argument that'—Cf. *Ar. Lys.* 35, *ibid.* 425.

τὰς συμμαχίας ποιῆσθαι. *condiditque foederis statum.* *Dem.*

τὴν Καλλίου—συμμαχίαν. Hamaker and Weidner omit this clause. It can only be an amplification of το εἴρησα.

94 δεινόν, cf. Dem. *c. Aeschin.* 211, ἀλλ' ὡς ταῦτ' ἐστὶ τὸ δεινόν, cf. *ibid.* *ibid.*

τὰ δέκα τάλαντα. This sum paid apparently by Orens and Euxinia between them, given as some part of the amount paid as contribution (ἀνταγίαν) by each individual state. See Bouaklé's *Demosthenes*, p. 423, Eng. trans. (i. 554 Germ.).

ὁρῶντων φρονούντων βλέπόντων 'while you were in full possession of sight and understanding,' when you were actually looking on.' Cf. the acrobats *Soph. O. R.* 649, *ἡλέστας φρονούντες*, 'having returned to your will and to your understanding.' For *βλεπόντων* Dübner quotes *Ar. Lys.* 298, *καὶ πῶρκα γε βλέπόντων*.

ὑφελόμενοι. Grote xi. 257, *note* 4; cp. § 145.

95 ὡς ἦκοι ἐκ Πελοποννήσου. 'He (Callias) also employed himself during the autumn and winter of 341–340 B.C. in travelling as a missionary throughout Peloponnesus, to organize a confederacy against Philip.' Grote, *ibid.*

κατεσκευασμένους. Cf. § 145 n.

σύνταγμα συντάξας εἰς πρόσοδον 'having arranged a scheme (or contribution) to bring in a revenue of a hundred talents,' *discretioque contributis*, i.e. having settled a scale according to which each state should contribute yearly towards a war with Philip.

ἑκατόν. *inf.* cf. *Plut. A. Alcibi.* 851: καὶ σύνταξεν χρημάτων ἡν ἔπεισε (Δημοσθένης) πεισθέντας διδόναι τοὺς μὲν συμμαχοὺς εἰς

τὴν πλῆθος πλῆθος πεντακσίων ταλάντων. This is more near the truth in Boeckh's opinion. There were certainly other contributors besides Athenians, Megarians and Eretrians. ἐκατόμην represent the amount collected by Callias alone. But Weidner's assertion "*culmata scriptura aperte corrupta est*" is well supported by his note.

διελογίζετο . συντελεῖν 'he computed the contributions each state was to make respectively.' Cf. Dem. pro Phocion. 23 γερμανοὶ διελογίζετο· after computation had been made of our respective demands.' Aeschin. i. 18, διελογίζεσθαι τὰ καλὰ καὶ τὰ κακὰ, 'to distinguish.'

96 εἶναι πολλοὺς . οὓς βοῦλεσθαι 'that there were many other Greek states who were willing to take part in.' For instances of the infinitive after the relative in oratio obliqua see Thuc. i. 91. 5. 2-4 ἐπὶ λείπεσθαι, Böcking's note. It occurs nine times in Thucydides. Cf. Roby, *Lat. Gr. Pr.* ii. § 4781 and Goodwin, *M. L.* § 62, 2, note 3, p. 193. See also Thucyd. 4, 98, 4; Herod. 8, 95; 9, 11.

ἔφη δέ . δέ, as often, not placed after the word to which it belongs. Cf. *ibid.* § 31.

δὲ ἀπορρήτων 'secretly,' 'confidentially.'

97 ἦν ἐπρέσβευσε, in p. 340. Grote, xi. 257, note 6. Schaefer, *Ibid.* ii. 451, 2.

ἐξ Ἀκαρνανίας. cf. § 250.

πάντας μὲν—πάντας δέ, see § 95 note.

ὑπάρχειν 'were ready on the spot,' cf. Dem. de Cor. 171.

μυρίους—χιλίους. Demosthenes says μύρια μὲν καὶ πεντακσίων ἔστω ὑπερβῆναι δ' ἱστῶν, *de Cor.* 287. See the note there. Demosthenes may be citing the number of troops promised, Aeschines of those which actually took part in the war. The author of the *Vitae A. Orat.* gives the same figures as Aeschines.

98 τὰς πολιτικὰς δυνάμεις. *sc. civitatis civitatisque.* Cf. inf. 147. Markland, citizens opposed to *senat.* *Senatus* cf. *de Anaxim.* 87.

δεδοσθαι δὲ ἀπὸ πάντων. 'It is noticeable that this use of ἀπὸ of the *agent* after passive verbs is nearly limited to *λογίζεσθαι* and *πείθεσθαι* or verbs of similar meaning.' Shilleto to Thuc. i. 17, 1. 'ἀπὸ is joined to passives in case of personal immediate action, ἀπὸ in case of indirect action, through other persons or otherwise.' Herbet über Cäsar, *Jahrbuch f. Class. Philol.* 1878—9, Suppl. B. 10, pp. 49, 50. Translate 'on the part of.' Weidn. with two mss. ἀπ' αὐτῶν.

τὴν ἑκτὴν ἐπὶ δέκα τοῦ ἀνθεστηριῶνος 'the 16th of Anthesterion.' = March 9, B.C. 340. The full moon was on the 14th of Anthest. = March 7. See Grote xi. 257, 6. Schaefer, *Ibid.* ii. 451, 2.

99 ἄνθρωπος 'the man,' Demosthenes, definitively. Not ἄνθρωπος 'man' generally, as the Zurich text, which gives no satisfactory sense. So §§ 125, 159; cf. 157, 212.

ἴδιον καὶ οὐ κοινόν. The combination of a positive idea with its negative opposite, to obtain emphasis, is of frequent occurrence, especially in Homer and Herodotus. Cf. *Il.* i. 416. Herod. vii. 46. πᾶλλας καὶ οὐκ ἅπας.

ἀλαζόνες. Timotheus *Lex. Pict.* ἀλαζόνες ψευδῆς. Theophr. *Char.* 23 ἀλαζόνες ὁρίζοντες ἐν ἑαυτοῖς προσπάσεις ἀγαθῶν οἷον ὄντων. Ar. *Eq.* N. i. ii. 7, 12 ὁ μὲν μέσος ἀληθὴς τις καὶ ἡ μέσος ἐκείνη λέγεται, ἡ δὲ προσπάσεις ἡ μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ μέγαν ἀλαζονεία καὶ ὁ ἑαυτὸν εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἀλαζόν, ἡ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ ἑαυτὸν εἰσενεὶα καὶ εἰρων. Plautus translates Ἀλαζόν by *Gloriosus* [*Mil. Glor.* 2, 1, 8].

Δημοσθένης ψεύδεται. Cf. ii. 153. Pseudo-Dem. c. Neoter. § 10.

εἰς ὅποτε, cf. Thuc. viii. 23 εἰς ὅτε, 24 ἀρχὴ τότε. Supr. 24. Dem. *de Cor.* 163 μέγιστον πόρρω.

κλέπτων τὴν ἀκρόασιν 'beguiling your ears with falsehoods' cf. 26. As in § 142, Demosthenes is represented as deceiving his listeners by *δόγματα*, unrealities, false statements, *ἐτέρων παρρησιῶν παραμύθων.* § 204. κλέπτων also implies suppression of the truth. Cf. Dem. *in Aphob.* 5 διακλέπτωντα τοῖς ἐαυτοῦ λόγοις τὴν ἀλήθειαν τῶν πραγμάτων. c. *Stiphon.* ii. 25 κλέπτων τὴν ἀλήθειαν μαρτυρίας.

διὸ, Cäsar would read ὅτι. πονηρὸς ὢν καὶ τὰ τῶν χρηστῶν σημεῖα διαφθείρει 'being a rogue himself and moreover renders useless the ordinary signs of honest men' (*signa ea et indicia rectius diligenterque loqui*). This refers especially to *μυμανέουσιν καὶ εὐχρηστῶν λεγόντων*. His imitation of veracity and uprightness is so perfect, both in what he says and in what he leaves unsaid, that we shall be unable in future to recognize honest men by the usual indications, cf. § 229, *ὅταν δ' ἐξ ἀνομιῶν ἀρχαίων ἀρχαῖα, ἔπειτα ἐπὶ τὴν ἀπλότητα καὶ τὰ ἔργα καταστήσῃ*, and 265—267. *σημεῖα* is a term borrowed from the *Khottabians*, see Ar. *Plot.* i. ii. 14, ix. 14, *Pact.* 16, 1. See also Lurip. *Med.* 516.

ὁ Ζεὺς, τί δὲ γὰρ μὲν δὲ κίβητος ἡ
τιμωρὴ ἀνθρώποις ὅπασας σέφει.
ἀλλὰ δὲ ὅτε καὶ τὸν κακὸν διείδεναι,
οὐκ οὐκ χαρακτὸρ ἐπιτίθει σέβας;

100 τῆς Ἰλιάδος. The decree given in Dem. *de Cor.* § 181—187 has been supposed to be referred to here as 'longer than the Iliad'; but as it stands there, though very long, it does not seem to refer to the same events as Aeschines is now engaged upon.

οὐκ ἐσομένων 'that will never be realized.'

ἀπαγαγὼν κλέμματος 'having drawn your attention far away from the fraud he purposed.'

συστρέψας, sc. ἐαυτὸν 'gathering himself up' for a spring like a serpent. Brandl. So Taylor, *se talam collectis, ut serpentem evitatum in ea se describit*. Weidner understands the word to refer to the style of the ψήφισμα, 'summarily.'

πάνυ γὰρ ἔδει δεηθῆναι 'of course it was absolutely necessary to beg of them!' Ironical. No doubt Aeschines had emphasis on the humiliating word δεήσασθαι—δεῦν—δεήσασθαι. Schäfer II 433. Cf. inf. 103.

πρὸς τοὺς Ὀρείτας, *manifestum exhibens*, Cobet.

τὸν αὐτὸν Ἀθηναίους φίλον καὶ ἐχθρὸν νομίζειν. τὸν αὐτὸν Ἀθηναίους καὶ Ἀθηναίους, τὸν αὐτὸν νομίζοντα τὸν αὐτὸν. Madvig, *G. S.* § 37, R. 2. Goodwin, *Gr.* § 186. Thue. iii. 70. νομίζειν, 'to treat as—' νομίζειν εἶναι is the reading of the Zenobii Ed.; but 'νομίζειν εἶναι nihil nisi arbitrium suum esse significat.' Cobet, *Nov. Lect.* Both Delesee and Taylor reject εἶναι as 'εἶναι καὶ εἶναι proinde utis τὸν αὐτὸν.'

101 πάλιν ἅπας ὢν, this is the conjecture of Schütz for περὶ ἀπαιτήτων of the MS. 'Deinde apparet curus esse Aeschines fraudulens intentionem.' He refers to Dem. *P. L.* 127 (139), εἰ δὲλος πρὸς τῷ Ἀσχαρῷ, 'wholly bent upon,' and § 192. See also Dem. *Cor.* 176 πρὸς τῷ σκοπῷ γενέσθαι. For ἀναγκάσθαι, see § 81.

ἀφελὼν 'omitting,' cf. § 237.

τὰς τριήρεις. § 97. Weidner cuts it out; de Boer conj. τὰς τεσσαρῆς.

ἀψαι (addressed to the clerk), 'make special mention of,' Cf. § 193.

ὃ ὑφέλετο 'which he fraudulently practised,' the relative standing for a cognate accusative. Cf. Hor. *O.* 22 τὰς ἀπαλάστας ἐπὶ τῇ Ἀλφειῷ.

καὶ ἐν τῷδε 'even in this as in others.'

102 πανσέληνον—συνέδρους, quoting the words used in the decree which fixed a date for the meeting of ἀγοραίαι from the states which were to form the new confederacy against Philip.

103 λαβὼν τρία τάλαντα μισθόν. Of course this statement must not be accepted on the authority of Aeschines alone. But he refers to a ψήφισμα of the people of Oreus, to prove that there was an agreement between the state of Oreus and Demosthenes. Schäfer (II 433) conjectures that Demosthenes had lent the people of Oreus a talent at a moderate rate of interest to enable them to prosecute the war with Philip more quickly, an idea which is supported by the expression τὸ τάλαντον ἀποδοῦναι.

εἰ δ' (sc. τάλαντον), Bremer, for the MS. δέ.

καταφανὴς ἐγένετο 'he was detected,' cf. § 90 καταδοῦναι.

δημοκρατουμένων, for the liberation of Oreus see Grote vi. 250—7.

ἐξανηλωμένοι 'finding their resources exhausted.'

104 ἐλαχίστου χαλκοῦ οὐδὲν δέοιτο 'he did not want a poor bit of brass.' But the word ἐλαχίστου is unsatisfactory. Make conjectures: ὅτι οὐδ' ἐλαχίστου χαλκοῦ δέοιτο. Perhaps the simplest emendation would be to read ἐλαχίστου for ἐλαχίστου and ὅτι οὐδὲν πρὸς τῷ χαλκῷ εἰ ἡμῶν τοῦ δέοιτο εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν. Weidner καὶ μάλιστ' ὅτι οὐδὲν χαλκοῦ δέοιτο.

ὅτι δέοιτο, εἰσπράττειν note the variation of construction from the optative to the infinitive in oratio obliqua; so sometimes εἰ proceeds as infinitive alone. Xen. *Cyrop.* I, 6, 18. Cf. § 96. See Clyde *Gr. Syntax* § 97. Also εἰσπράττειν the present tense means the immediate future 'he insisted on at once calling in the talent.'

διὰ τοῦ Καλλίου, δέ c. m. of the median cf. § 129, 162, 242.

ὑπέθεσαν, προσόδους 'mortgaged to him for the talent their public revenues.'

δραχμὴν τοῦ μηνὸς τῆς μνάς, 12 per cent. per ann. A moderate rate of interest for the time.

106—158. Aeschines passes now to the third period of the political life of Demosthenes, i.e. 340 to 338, the year of the battle of Chaeroneia. He first tries to show that Demosthenes gave bad advice when he induced the Athenians to abstain from sending representatives to the special meeting of the Amphictyons, and from taking part in the sacred duty of punishing the sacrilegious Amphictyons, which led to Philip's taking the position which Athens should have occupied (§§ 105—136); and he next tries to show that the boasted alliance with Thebes in 340—338 was not due to Demosthenes, while the errors

committed in the terms of that alliance were §§ 137-147, while he was also responsible for a ransom not being made before the battle of Chaeroneia (§§ 148-158).

106 ἤδη καὶ, § 52 n.

μᾶλλον δέ, these words introduce a comparison. πικρότατος is opposed to τρυφός. Cf. Dem. *de Cor.* 297. πικρότατος 'most disastrous.' This meaning of πικρός is frequent in the tragedians.

τῶν Ἑλλήνων, the rest of the Greeks. Athens being excepted, in 110, 151 Thebes being excepted.

πράξεις, cf. § 21.

107 τὸ Κιρραῖον πεδῖον. The most ancient and important town in the country surrounding Delphi was Crissa. It is mentioned in the Homeric hymn to Apollo Pythios, while Delphi and the harbour Cirrha are not. In the course of the war to which Aeschines here alludes (595 B.C.), Crissa and Cirrha were destroyed and the Cirrhaean or Crissaean plain was declared sacred to the Delphian god and its cultivation forbidden. It was noted for its fertility in the direction of Crissa, but near Cirrha the country was bleak and barren. Cirrha afterwards recovered importance as the harbour of Delphi. The cause of the war was the excessive tolls exacted at the harbour of Cirrha from merchants voyaging to Sicily, Italy and Sicily. Oros. iii. 476. Ptolemy *Delphica* (Angew., Anis. 224). Ptolemy *Solus* xi.

108 πάντ' ἡμέρα καὶ πάσας νύκτας, cf. *Il.* v. 100. Οὐδὲν in *Il.* xxi. 1-6. ἡμέρα καὶ νύκτας. These Homers place the days before the nights, in using this expression.

Κραγαλίδαις. The Acropolis seems to have been a people living near Cirrha. The term given by the Leontopompeians varies between Κραγαλίδαι, Ακραγελίδαι, Κραγελίδαι, and the town is called Κραγαλίδαι.

Ἀθηνᾶ Προναία. [The mss. have προναία as in Pausanias, but the error has been corrected by interpolation.] The temple of Athena at Delphi stood in front of the inner temple of Apollo, abutting on the road from Phocis. Paus. ii. 8. 4) cf. Aesch. *Eum.* 21. Herod. i. 92, vii. 37.

ἐπὶ πάσῃ ἀεργίᾳ 'in all quite unproductive.' Oros. iii. 476, xi. 273.

Σόλωνος εἰπόντος. This is confirmed by Pausanias *Sol.* xi. πεισθέντες γὰρ ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ (Σόλωνος) πρὸς τὸν Πύθιον ἀμύχανον ἢ Ἀμφικτιόνες.

ἄνδρες—διατετριφότες. Cobet and Weidner strike out the whole of this passage as 'ad Aeschines personam alienam et apud Athenienses auditores perinariam.'

109 ἔχωσαν. Vellut s. v. χάω.

καὶ ποδὶ καὶ φωνῇ, see § 120 and n. 115.

110 προστροπήν 'importation,' 'interpositionem cum oblatione decem ultimam, si quis hoc pactum videt.' Reiske. It is an entreaty made to some one in a suppliant posture. Cf. Aesch. *Irys.* 216.

παραβαίνου, optative in the protasis depending on ἔστω imperative in the apodosis. See Goodwin, *M. T.* 54. b. 2(a).

φησὶ. The subject, easily supplied, is often omitted with this verb. Here ἡ ἀλήθεια. Cf. i. 22. *Idem. F. L.* 62 (69).

111 ἐπεύχεται, cf. Soph. *Oed. R.* 249, 269.

τέκνα γονεῦσιν ἰοικότα. Dörrie refers to Hes. *Op. et D.* 235.

τέρατα 'miracles.' Cf. Plat. *Cratyl.* 303 B, ἐὰν ὥσπερ τέρας γένηται ἐξ ἡπτοῦ ἄλλο τι ἢ ἡπτος.

ἀγορῶν 'public assemblies,' 'discussions in the assembly.' Cf. Hom. *Il.* ii. 275. *Od.* iv. 818. Also the meetings for such discussions Herod. 6, 9.

An equally well supported reading is ἀγορᾶς, the assembly itself. ἀγορά is used by Homer in the sense of ἐκκλησία. Cf. § 27. Schömann, *Com.* 116, 28. Autenrieth's *Homeric Lexicon*, s. v. ἀγορά. It is also used by Herodotus (ii. 58) for the business done in the assembly.

εὐσαιεν. The Aeolic terminations of 1 Aor. Opt. Act. -εας, -εαιεν, -εαν, are most generally used (by Thuc. almost exclusively). Still the forms in -αι, -αι, -εας, do occur. See Thuc. iii. 47, v. 111 and Blinsky on Eur. *Med.* 312.

ἐξείντο αὐτοῖς. The majority of the mss. here, and all in § 121, give αὐτοῖς not αὐτοῖς. Still Dörrie would alter to αὐτοῖς in both cases, referring to Porson's note to Eur. *Hec.* 533. See Cobet *Not. Lect.* p. 497.

112 οὐ πρὶν τῆσδε. This oracle has been inserted here from Pausanias x. 37. 6. It is the answer of the Pythia when the Amphictyons consulted her about their victory. The substance of the oracle, which really belongs to this place, is given in 108 supra.

113 Ἀμφισσείς. Amphissa was the chief town of the Locri Ozolae, the western neighbours of Caria and Delphi. There is nothing in this passage or in Dem. *de Cor.* 149 to enable us to determine the date of this occupation. Grote (xi. 273) regards it as ancient and established, Curtius (v. 411) as a recent intrusion. So also Schaefer ii. 499. Cobet would omit αὐτῶν... αὐτῶν.

πυλαγόρων. See *Lex. Ant.* 80 b. Grote xi. 274 ff.

114 χειροτονηθείς, B.C. 343. Schaefer ii. 350.

δισχιλίας. Marked with several ass. for χιλίας. Cf. *infra* μᾶς εἴκοσι [= 2000 διαχίλια].

ἐν τοῖς Ἀμφικτύοσι 'at a sitting of the Amphictyons.' Cf. Dem. *ol.* iii. 10. ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς. ἐν of that which occurs within the circle of a body of men; so ἐν δήμῳ, ἐν τῷ δήμῳ, κ.τ.λ.

ἐφ' ᾧτε βοηθήσαν 'on condition that he would help.' Goodwin, *M. T.* § 29 ἐφ' ᾧτε (πρὶ τωτῷ ᾧτε, Gr. § 207, Curtius, *loc. cit.* § 601.

ιδιώτης = one who is concerned only with his own private affairs, a layman as opposed to an official or professional, as here to δυνάστης; so also to στρατηγός, πρεσβύτερος, ῥήτωρ, βασιλεὺς, κ.τ.λ.

δυνάστης = tyrant. Dem. *Arctost.* § 124. Doh.

115 περιεγένετο 'got the better of,' 'triumphed over,' cf. § 173.

ἐπὶ Θεοφράστου ἄρχοντος, B.C. 339. Grote xi. 274.

ἱερομνήμονος. see § 113. The hieromnemon was selected by lot (*Arist. Pol.* 623) and appears not to have had a vote with the Pythagorae.

ἐκείνον 'the well-known,' somewhat sarcastic, cf. Dem. *d. Cor.* 219. ἐβουλόμην ἂν 'I could have wished,' τὸν Λέκκιον 'of the demé Leccian,' see notes on text.

καὶ τρίτον δὲ 'and thirdly, as you know.' δὲ is Weidner's reading for the mss. δέ. The combination καὶ-δὲ is used for emphasis and climax, the word between καὶ and δὲ being emphasized, 'but' (δὲ) — 'also' or 'actually' (καὶ). Cf. § 126: Thuc. i. 132. 2. Dem. *ol.* iii. 15. *Phil.* iii. 70. But there can be no question of emphasis or climax as regards the word τούτων here. Cf. Stallbaum crit. not. to Plat. *Apol.* 19 c. For ὅτι referring to a well-known fact see Herod. i. 44, 45.

116 ὑποπεπτωκότες, sc. τοῖς Οὐραίοις 'abjectly submissive to.' Cf. § 20 ἐπέβαλλον αὐτῶν. Dem. *c. Steph.* i. 63. τοῖς τοιούτοις ἐθέλοντες ὑπαπίπτει. θεραπεύοντες, ep. c. *Aristocr.* 8.

εἰσέφερον, *imph.* 'wished to propose.' See Dem. *de Cor.* 149.

ἀνέθηκε πρὸς 'it brought to the new shrine and dedicated.'

τὸν καινὸν νεών. The temple at Delphi was burnt 548 B.C. The new one built by the Alcmaeonidae for the Amphictyons remained till the time of Pausanias. See Herod. v. 62. If this 'new temple' is referred to here, the offence was one of long standing, the time being shortly after the battle of Plataea; and it would then seem to have consisted in the erection of a permanent trophy. Cf. Cic. *Inv.* ii. 69.

πρὶν ξηραδασθαι [an old variation was ξηρασθαι] 'before its complete consecration.' This had not taken place at the end of the Persian war, probably because the building itself was not complete. This is the view of Schaefer and Weidner. Curtius's view is somewhat different (xi. 275). He thinks that the shields had been recently recolled and set up again in a new cell or chapel.

ἐπέγραψεν. Weidn. for mss. ἐπεγράψεν. ἀπὸ Μίδων, cf. § 106 n. τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν, cf. § 106.

ἐς τὸ συνέδριον, that is, of the Amphictyons, see on Dem. *de Cor.* § 116.

καὶ αὐτὸν οἶτω προηρημένον 'knew I had myself already determined to do so.'

117 ἀρχομένου δὲ μεθεστηκότων 'but when I began my speech and indeed had entered the council-chamber with more than usual earnestness, the other Pythagorae having withdrawn.' If the words are thus taken, τὸ συνέδριον means the assembly of the hieromnemonical alone. Cf. Dem. *de Cor.* 142. Schaefer ii. 499. But there seems no reason to suppose that such a question should be reserved for them; and therefore many translate μεθεστηκότων 'having made way for me.' Cp. § 122.

παιδείας ἡμιπαρηγορίας §§ 208, 260.

δαμονίου τινός. "Quem domi vult prodest gratia deorum." It is a common sentiment with Greek writers. Cf. Dem. *Phil.* iii. 84. *Lycour.* c. *Leont.* 92. αἱ γὰρ θεοὶ αἰδὲ πρότερον τιμῶν, ὅταν πεισθῶν ἀνθρώπων τὴν δόξαν παρεχόμενοι. For the δαμονίων see Plat. *Symph.* 202 c. πάν τὸ δαμόνιον μεταξὺ ἐστὶ καὶ τε καὶ θνητῶν — ἐμμετρεῖται καὶ διαπορεύεται θεοῖς τὰ παρ' ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἀνθρώποις τὰ παρὰ θεῶν.

ἀρχὴν 'at all,' always with a negative and generally placed last in the sentence, ἀρχὴν οὐδέ, no initio quidem = no omnino omnibus; see Curtius *loc. cit.* § 405, also 2. γε emphasizes ἀρχὴν.

ἐξείργει' ἄν 'you would have excluded them,' cf. § 122.

118 ἐμέμνητο c. gen. 'he made mention of,' so ἀμνησθῆναι αὐτῶν, μνησθῆναι τῆς παρανομίας.

ὁ Κρωβύλος ἐκεῖνος. [Cf. § 115. C. Timarch. 61.] 'The notorious Top-knot' (ἡ Φινισιὰ Χίτωνι Θάλλει²). Herasippus, a political ally of Demosthenes, and his companion as ambassador into the Peloponnese p.c. 343. The κρωβύλος was a fashion of dressing the hair both effeminate and antiquated. The hair was rolled into a knot on the crown of the head and fastened with a pin in the form of a grasshopper. See Classen's note to Thuc. 1, 6 and *Idem*, *Ant.* 328 b, 329 a. Herasippus was so called καθὸ αὐτὸν ἔλκει τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ ἐκλινάσκει τὴν τρίχυν. Schol. The alliance here alluded to was made just before the outbreak of the Phocian war in 356 B.C. Cf. Diad. Sic. vii. 28, τῶς δὲ Φωκεῖσι συμμαχούντες Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ τινες ἑτεροὶ τῶν Ἡελοπονησίων. Dem. *P. L.* 61 (48). There was a suspicion that Herasippus had been bribed by the Phocians. Schaefer, I. 456, 2.

ἐπήλθε. Cf. Dem. *de Cor.* 263. ἐπὶ τὴν γνώμην rightly suspected by Heras.

αὐτόθεν ἐστηκὼς 'from the spot where I stood' as an orator addressing the assembly.

ὑπόκειται. The heights near Delphi, called the Phaeades, command a full view across the Phocian valley as far as the sea.

119 κεραμεῖα καὶ αὐλῖα 'pottery-works and farm-buildings.' πεπρακότας. Weidner adopts this conjecture of Hamaker (fr. *πεπρακέναι*) which receives some support from the explanation of the Scholiast ἀπὸ τῶν τῶν τοῦ λαοῦ. Cf. *τέλει* πωλεῖν, *πραττέω*. *Demetrii. Hell.* iv. 8, 27 ἀπὸ τῶν τῶν ἀεὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Πάριος πλάστῶν. *Οἰωνος πεπρακότας* fr. *πράσσω* in the sense 'exact,' rare in the active, but see Herod. 1. 106 *φάρν' ἐπὶ πρῶτον*; 3. 58 καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκείνῳ τὰ λατὰ ἐπρήδαν.

ἄμα δὲ ἀναγινώσκων ἐκέλευον. Schaefer regards these words as an indication that Aeschines was not speaking on sudden impulse *καὶ τοῦ παρρησιαίου—ἐπὶ γνώμῃ* but had got ready his documents and prepared his speech beforehand, as Demosthenes asserts *de Cor.* 149, *λόγους εὖ προεσώτας καὶ μετὰς ἀνέδωκεν*. To this Weidner replies that such important documents concerning the cause of the Delphic God, would surely be ready to hand preserved among the archives of the Amphictyons, and so might be produced and read by the clerk after a short interval.

120 διαρίζομαι 'made definite distinction' between his own intended conduct on the one hand (*μεν*) and possible reply on the part of his audience on the other (*δὲ*). So the same verb followed by *μεν* and *δὲ*, Aeschin. 1. 95; II. 145.

βοηθῶ present for the immediate and certain future. See § 259, cp. Herod. vi. 53 *γράψω*, vi. 82 *αἰδέομαι*.

ἀφοσιῶ 'I resign,' 'I clear from guilt,' "*ἀφίστημι ἀσύνειον*," cf. *Plat. Leg.* 873 d. *Μὴτεν ἑαυτοῦ φέρων ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ νεκροῦ πολλὰν ἀρκεαῖν τὸν πόλεον ὅλην*. *Phaedr.* 242 c, *ὅς ἂν ὅς ἂν ἀπὸ τῆς τῆς ἀποστασίας, ὡς τι ἰδανηκότα εἰς τὸ πᾶν*.

ἐνήρκται τὰ κανὰ [*νόμοι* *χρῆμα*] 'the lawsuits are emptied for the satisfaction of the suitors.' Cf. Eur. *I.L.* 1141, *καρπὸν δ' ἐκέρχεται, καὶ ἐκέρχεται ὁ νόμος*, and *Iph.* 4. 435, *ἀνὰ τὸ πᾶν τοῦτο ἐκέρχεται κανὰ*. Thus also *ἀπαρχίσσεται* takes up. See *Meibomius* *Oratorum*, *de Att. Inschr.* p. 168. See *Diet.* *Ant.* s. v. *Calophronius*. (A better picture of the *κάρων* will be found in Fig. 201 of *Gail and Koser's Life of the Greeks and Romans*.) Sacrifices performed in common were an important part of Amphictyonic meetings, for a community of religion was the primary reason of the union. Cf. § 121, *ἀνέδωκεν*.

121 ποίοις ὄμμασι, cp. *τετιθέσθαι* Dem. *de Cor.* 201.

μηδ' ὅσῳς θέσασιν 'let not their offering be guiltless, who—', αὐτοῖς, see pp. § 111.

122 ἀπηλλάγην καὶ μετέστην 'withdrew and left the assembly,' as the other phylarchs had done before (§ 117), Aeschines remaining at the wish of the Athenian *ἐπιστάμενος* Proxenus (§ 116).

πόρρω τῆς ἡμέρας οὔσης. Hamaker would strike out *οὔσης*. The proper phrase is *πᾶσι τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐπὶ, ὅπου* etc. See examples in L. and S. Others propose *ἀρτίως*.

Δελφῶν ὅσοι ἐπὶ δίετες ἡβῶσι 'all who were of age.' Natural *ἐκείνη* was supposed to commence in the sixteenth year, and in the eighteenth. Those who had completed their sixteenth and seventeenth years were said *ἐπὶ δίετες ἡβῶν* or *ἡβήσαν* 'to be *ἐφ' ἡμέρᾳ* for two years,' during which a young man, at Athens at least, had to perform duty as *παρόλος*. K. F. Hermann, *Zeitschr.* § 85, 13. Schaefer, iii. 2. 19–38, esp. pp. 36, 37, 25. A different view, that *ἐπὶ δίετες ἡβῶν* = the completion of the 16th year, was proposed by Boeckhe (*Forsch.* 1. 58) and supported by Thirlwall, v. Append. 1. Ed. 1849, and Weid. *ad loc.* τὸ *Θυτείον* some unknown spot called 'the place of *ἐκείνη*.' See notes on I. 31.

123 ἀνεχωροῖμεν 'we were on our way back.'

πρὸς ἡμᾶς 'to attack us': they did not reach them. For πρὸς in hostile sense see Septu. *Truch.* 303 ὡς Ζεὺς τρυφᾷ... ποτ' εἰσδιδούσιν σε πρὸς τοὺς ἐν ὅττω σπέρμα χαρμῶντα καὶ. W. with some MSS. ὡς ready.

πανδημί 'with all their available forces.' This word is frequently used by Thucydides, and nearly always in reference to a sudden levy or popular rising to repel an invader or the like; while πανστράτις is a more distinctly military term, indicating a complete army on a regular war footing.

ἐκινδυνεύσαμεν ἀν. The earlier editions, Bousset, Frazer, ed. 2, omit ἀν. So Goodwin, *M. T.* 49. 2. d. Bate & ss.

124 Κόττυρος, ὁπότε τὰς Ἀποστόλων, Σολοκ. Σο. 218.
Dionys. *de Cor.* § 161. He presided as a Theban deity over
the Thessalians having had this privilege since the end of the
Sacred War.

ἐκκλησίαν ἐποίει συμπόσιον,' the Active, of the presiding authority, cf. *supra*, 27, 39, 67. The Middle *παρουσία* occurs occasionally of the people present in the assembly, Dem. *de Cor.* 218; but the usual word is *ἐκκλησία*, *Plutarch*, *Lyk.* 72.

ἐκκλησίαν γάρ. The assembled Amphictyons thus followed the analogy of popular institutions, which in Greece nearly always comprised a large assembly (*ekklesia*), and a smaller council (*boule*). The sort of irregular constitution of the *ἐκκλησία* finds an analogy in the early history of our own parliament, to which all present in whatever town it was held were ones to have had the right of coming. Waddington treats the whole clause as an expression unnecessary at Athens.

πολλὰι μὲν πολὺς δὲ τέλος δέ *Chama. Cf. Ussu. de*
Crit. 284, ὁ μὲν αὖτε ἄλλος.

κατὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας πόλεως. (Cf. 2.5a) v. Dem. 2. Phil. 4 and
μεγαλὴν εἶπε ἐπ' ὅμων ἐγκύμων.

πρὸ τῆς ἐπιούσης πυλαίας. This being in the autumn
would be too late for the commencement of a war.

125 ἀποδοθέντος 'delivered' as a better. Cf. Thuc. viii. 19, Aeschin. ii. 45. Wenker states and is before the jury and gives reason for suspecting that the same should be done before τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ.

καὶ Δημοσθένους, ἀντιλέγοντος 'and Demosthenes opposing (this religious policy) for the sake of the irile to come from Amphipolis which had been deposited with a third party (lat. *sequester*). Cf. Dem. *in Boeot.* 1, 3, *μετ' ἑσθ' ἔστιν ἀποθήκη, καὶ οὐ μὲν οὕτως pecunia summum apud modiciorum est pondus* cf. The allusion is to the charge brought against Demosthenes, *in* 114.

μεταστησάμενος τοῖς ἰδωτάς · having secured the wish-

breast of strawers.' Others 'speculators,' persons not dis-
satisfied, Shillato to Dem. F. L. 18 (19). Ina diapheggy rōis (for-
Nestis, Schol.

ἐκφέρεται, mid. 'he causes a dove to be brought down from the *τολὴν* to the *ἐκδοσία* and proposed to the latter.' Cf. the poet in *Alcibi.* II. 66, *ἐκφερέσθαι* = *effigere*, *consequi*.

126 προσλαβὼν 'taking advantage of,' lit. 'taking as an opportunity.' Cf. Dora, *P. L.* 815 (1842), προσλαβὼν τοὺς τοὺς ἐκείνους ἄνθρωπος, supra. Q. The Scholiast explains ἐπειδὴ πῶς τὰς ἐκείνους ἀνελκεται γινώκει τὸ ψεύδεται.

τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο, -ε, πρὸς τὸ λαοῦν.

καὶ τῶν πολλῶν δὲ ἀφαιμένων 'and when the majority had actually dispersed.' Webster conjectures *ὅς ἀφαιμ.* as in § 115. Scholia and Boissacius with some MSS. read *διαφαιμένων*, comparing *Heut. et Ar. v. 171*, *ἀφαιμ. τῆς δόξης*, 176, *τῆς δόξης διαφαιμένης*. Xen. *Hellen.* 4. 14, *διαφαιμ. τὸ σπέρμα*. But the καὶ δὲ here answers to the requirements enunciated in § 115.

^{iii.} τοὺς δὲ πύλαγοι οὐκ ἄν τις ἀποκαταστήσει· τὰς δὲ πύλαγους ἐπὶ καθ' ἑκάστην αἰτίαν κλείουσι καὶ ἀνοίγουσι καὶ ἀναλαμβάνουσιν καὶ ἀφαιροῦσιν ἐκαστὸν ὅστις ἐπιβήσεται ἐπὶ τῆς πύλαδος· οὕτως γὰρ εἴρηται ἐν τοῖς νόμοις. This amounted to a refusal to send extraordinary pylagorae. The pylagorae were closed annually.

ἐν τοῖς τεταγμένοις χρόνοις. *Hyperoth. Epitaph.* col. viii.
p. 57. Τεταγμένα εἰσι, ἀφαιρούμενα γὰρ αἱ Ἑλληνεὶ ἀπαιτεῖς ὡς το
ἐκείναι εἰς τὴν Πόλιν. *Dial. Ant.* p. 80 a, b.

σύλλογον 'επινοήσαντες ποιεῖν.'

ἐξ ἀνάγκης, πλ. : 45.

127 πρόσταγμα 'decrees.' *προσταγμα*, the reading of the Zurich edd., would have much the same meaning as *φύλαξις*, in the whole passage. Cf. inf. 105, *τα δὲ τῶν φύλακτῶν πρὸς ἀνταγὰς*. Bako, *Schol. Hygion.* iv. 326.

μετέχειν τινὶ τινος 'to share with someone in something'. Waldoer (ed. 1872) quotes *Phaedr.* I p. § 8 ap. Dem. 161, *ἐγὼ δὲ τανύτα αὐτῷ τῷ πρὶν τῆς ἀπορίας ἀποφύλακτα μετέχειν τῶν βουλῶν* 'I share with him before the difficulty dragon-guarded'. See § 191.

λεγόμενον. Franko thinks this corrupt. Woidner reads
 λεγόν.

οὕτωςι τὴν πόλιν διατίθεικεν 'has reduced the state to the condition in which it is.' Cf. *ibid.*, § 128. *Thuc.* vi, 3, 1.

οὐκ ἐὰ μνησθαι 'it bids you to forget.'

128 κατεμύναμεν. *Coluit conjectures σκοι ἐμύναμεν.*

πλήν μιας πόλεως. The Scholiast's explanation, which Weidner quotes without remark, is την Ορβανειαν πόλιν λέγειν κατιστάμετο γὰρ ἐπ' Ἀντιόχειαν. But the reading of Thales

τις πολλά ἐσθλὰν ἐπιδρατε ἐπιπλάζοντο. Cp. § 230. With regard to the orthography of the latter verb see Vossii s. v. πλάττω and Franke *loc. cit.* *Aeschin.* p. 462.

ἐξουσίας 'power,' § 222, ἐπιτέλειν τὸν καίριαν.

131 ἀθύτων καὶ ἀκαλλιεργήτων τῶν ἱερῶν ὄντων. Cf. § 152, 'when the sacrifices were unsuccessful and had given no favourable omens.' It was ill-omened if the victim did not assent to ἵπτανται the sacrifices. ἀθύτων, cf. τὰ ἱερὰ ἀγχεύεται, Xen. *Hell.* iii. 1, 17. καλλιεργεῖν, Lat. *colere* (*colere* *manu* *colimus* *colimus* *habet*, Mart. x. 73, 6). K. F. Hermann *Aesch.* ii. 38, 24; 28, 6; the ἱερὰ θεωροῦνται ὡς καὶ καλλιεργεῖν (Herod. vi. 74; ix. 19) the man cultivating them καλλιεργεῖν (Herod. vi. 62; vii. 113; Aristoph. *Plut.* 1181). Many sacrifices preceded the battle of Chaeroneia. One is mentioned by the Schol. to Apoll. *Arg.* 4. 1284, δὲ δὲ ἀπὸ μὲν ἡμεῶν ἰδρῶντα αἰσῆται—ἀπὸ καὶ ἐν ὁρίσιν ὅτε ἀνέστη ὁ πρὸ Σαρωνικῶν πόλεμος. Cf. Pind. *Odes.* 19, 29. Scholast. ii. 529.

πρόδηλον ἰσ. to ἀποδείκναι. Δημοσθένης ἐκείνῳ προσηύδα τὸν μέλλοντα εἰσελθεῖν. Ποῦτος ἵσχυος ἔργον ἐν τῇσι νόμοις ὡς ὅτι § 126, 129.

καίτοι γε πρόην. καίτοι ποῦτος γε, Weidn. With the former meaning the γε affords the whole sentence, with the latter ποῦτος is specially emphasized. See *Expositio*, *Gr.* *Gr.* 100, 15, 3.

παρὰ τοῦτο 'because of this.' According to Rehdantz, as with Lat. *propter*, ἵνα is a translation of *propter* from 'by the side of' to 'because of' (cf. 'along of'). *Expositio*, *Gr.* *Gr.* 36, 6, and Maivitz, *Gr.* 8, 75, 1, regard this causal meaning of *παρὰ* as immediately developed from that which it bears in such phrases as *παρὰ τοσούτοις ἐχέεται παρὰ μισθῷ ἄνθρωποι*, i.e. *disponuntur*, 'that which takes the scale.' Cf. Thuc. i. 141, *Gr.* *Gr.* *Phil.* i. 11 n., *Gr.* *Gr.* 232, 2347.

ἀλιτήριε 'poor.' This word expresses the highest degree of criminality. It denotes the condition of the person who has been convicted and refused pardon in Athens. Cf. *loc. cit.* 232, 244. *Hyperb.* *pro* *Lys.* 10. ὅπως τὸν ἐμίσσηται καὶ ἀποθανόντα μὴ γὰρ ἐν τῇ πατρίδι ταφῆται *pro* *Lys.* 31. *Hyperb.* *Hyperb.* *in* *Dem.* *Phil.* viii. 2, iv. 105.

132 ἐφ' ἡμῶν 'in our day.' § 150, 176, 234.

οὐ γε. The γε here emphasizes the whole thought, not any particular word. Cf. § 242 δ' ἄλλοι ποῦτος γε.

βίον ἀνθρώπινον, an ordinary human life, full of vicissitudes as it is.

εἰς παραδοξολόγαν. ἔφουμεν 'we were born to be a tale of wonder to those who shall come after us.' *παράδοξος*, incredible, cf. *supra*, 18. *Aeschin.* *J. L.* vi. 40.

ὁ τὸν Ἄθω αἰτῶν. Χείρας πρὸς, as regards the last clause, *Thucyd.* cf. *Herod.* vii. 22, 23, 30, 32, vi. 38, and *loc. cit.* *Plutarch.* *supra*, with *Sandys*'s note. Aeschines evidently believed the account given by Herodotus of the canal cut, not through Mount Athos, but the neck of land behind it. Its existence is not now questioned. See Mayor's note to *Juvenal* x. 174.

αἰτῶν, τολμῶν, *mys.* participles of that which occurred *παράδοξον*. Cf. *Thucyd.* *Annals* vi. 16, 2, 15, 5.

ὁ τολμῶν, δομένον. Herodotus does not say this of Xerxes. He puts into his mouth a somewhat similar expression, vii. 8, 3, γὰρ τὸν Περσὲα ἀπαλόμενος τῶν δυνάμεων ἐμίσσηται. Cf. *Demosth.* *supra*, *Plutarch.* vi. 6 (in a letter of Ariarathes), πολλὰν ἐν τῷ δόλῳ καὶ πῶτος ἢ ἐν τῷ λόγῳ ἐκ τῶν αἰσθημάτων. *Aeschin.* *supra*, x. 26. *Herodotus* *supra*, 32. *Thucyd.* *Plutarch.* § 179, *Expositio* i. 2. *Herod.* *supra*, 122.

νῦν, σωτηρίας. Darius Codomannus had been murdered in July 336. Aeschines is speaking about a month later. The news had then just reached Athens. See *Thirlwall*, *Vol.* xi. ch. 11. *Orator*, *Vol.* xi. p. 8.

διαγωνίζεται. *Cicero* would read *ἀγασσέται*, on the ground that the other is appropriate to a rivalry among many.

τοὺς αὐτοὺς, the Macedonians.

ἡξιωμένους, in the passage of *Thucyd.* vi. 347. *Thirlwall*, *Vol.* xi. p. 316. *Orator*, *Vol.* xi. p. 316.

τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς ἱερὸν ἡλευθέρωσαν. Pheidon is related to, as having subdued the Phocians in the Sacred War, and, after the destruction of Amphissa, restored the sacred land to Delphi. *Thirlwall*, *Vol.* xi. p. 371. *Orator*, *Vol.* xi. p. 362.

133 Θῆβαι δέ, Θῆβαι. The second Θῆβαι was first admitted into the text by Reiske. It appears in several mss., and the passage is quoted as an instance of *ἀναδιδωσὶς* by Demetrius (*περὶ ἁρμογῶν* § 207) who adds ἀλλοτρίον γὰρ τὸ ὄνομα δευτέρῃ πάλιν. See § 75. It is solemn rather than pathetic.

μεθ' ἡμέραν μίαν 'in one day.' There seems to be no exact parallel to this expression. Compare however *Thucyd.* *Stic.* ii. 14.

πρὸς τρίτον ἔτος, *tertia anno*: Joseph. *Ant.* i. ch. 22, *μετ' ὀψήμε*
ἡμέρας, *octavo die*: Polyb. *μετὰ τρίτην ἡμέραν*, *per mille*: Joseph.
Jud. Bell. i. 13, *μετὰ δύο ἑτη = δύο ἡμέρας ἔτα*, *post ἡμέραν*, *in-*
terdiu, 'in the daytime,' lit. 'after daybreak,' occurs frequently.
Cf. § 77, Ar. *Plut.* 931, where there is the scholion *μετ' ἡμέρας*.
ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ. *Ἀπὸ τοῦ ὁ σήμε*. Perhaps here *μετ' ἡμέρας*
μίας = 'after one day's dawn,' i.e. the destruction of Thebes was
complete in 24 hours.

ἀνθρώπωνται 'has been extirpated.' The word implies swift and utter destruction. It is applied to individuals as well as to states. See Battmann, *Ind. in Mut.* p. 172. Wesseling, *Diod. Sic.* Vol. iv. p. 667. Dindorf, *Intr.* 135, 146. The change to the singular number is occasioned by the intervention of πᾶσι in apposition to Οἷον. So often with εὐατος. Αἱ τέχναι τὸ αὐτὸς ἕκαστη ἔργον ἐργάζονται, *Plat. Rep.* 346 D.

περὶ τῶν ὅλων βουλευσάμενοι (because they (the The-
bans) did not decide aught concerning their own interests.)
Understand οἱ πολῖται from πόλις as in Xen. *Hell.* i. 4. 12,
quoted by Madvig, *G. S.* § 3 b. τὰ ὅλα the main interests of
Thebes, not of Greece. Frequent in Polybius, see for instance
ii. 9, οἱ Κερκυραῖοι διὰ πλείστως διακρίνεται τοῖς ὅλοις, *causa propter
que de summis rerum suarum amplexa*. Dem. *de Cor.* 28, 303.
Diodorus Siculus, speaking of Thebes at this period, says xxvii.
c. 101, οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλο γὰρ ἐπὶ ὅλων τοῖς Ἕλλησιν τὸ πλεονεχέειν τὸ
προσιτῶς καὶ ἰσὺ λαοῖς ἀπολαύματα τοῦ ἀπὸ λαοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐξ ὀφείλων.
And Arrian i. 9. 6, Οὐδὲν τὰ τῶν ἀναστὰτος ἔστι καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς
λογισμῶ γινόμενα κ. τ. λ.

ἀλλὰ τὴν γε θεοβλάβειαν . . . κτησάμενοι 'yet surely they incurred their blindness and stupidity not by human agency but by divine.' Madness and folly were often regarded as heavenly punishments. Cf. § 117. Herod. vii, 10, 5. On *καταλαβάναι* in this sense see Elmhuy's note to Eur. Med. 212, 213. Cf. also Eur. Hippol. 701 *πρὸς τὰς τε καὶ γὰρ τὰς φρονίας κερτασθῆναι* 'we obtain credit for sense, or discredit, in accordance with results.'

περὶ τὴν τοῦ ἱεροῦ κατάληψιν *περὶ τὴν τοῦ ἱεροῦ κατάληψιν* *ad vices* ἐξ ἀρχῆς, Debr. The words are omitted by Weidm. (ed. 1878). They refer to the support given by the Spartan king Archidamus (15 talents and some mercenaries) to the Phocian leader Philomachus just before the latter occupied Delphi and the Sacred War began. Grote, xi. 51. *Thes. Sac.* xvi. 24, 63. In the latter passage Diodorus says of Archidamus, ὡς καὶ ἀπὸ αὐτοῦ γεγονότας τὰς τὰν Δελφῶν καταλήψεις.

ὁμηρεύοντες... ἀναπέμπεσθαι (cf. § 69 note 1, 'are now on the point of being sent up the country to Alexander to become hostages and give evidence of their humiliation to their conqueror'). After the defeat of Artabazus at Madyapolis

in the summer of this year (330). Cf. § 165; *Diod. Sic.* xvii. 73, ὁ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀντίπατρος ἀφαιρῶντας ἐκαστὸν ἐπιφανέστατος τῶν Σπουδαιῶν πεντήκοντα, αἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πρεσβύς ἐξέπεμψαν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν. *Quint. Curt.* vi. 1, 16. *Grote* xii. 106, 107. Antiphanes ap. *Athen.* 681 c. Οἱ δὲ ἐμὲ τιν αἱ Λακωνες ὡς ἀπὸρροῦνται ποτὶ Νῆα δ' ἀμνημονεὺς ἔχοντες ποταμοὺς κεφαλῶν.

ὁμῶρεῖσιν: Ἀσχηρὸς ἐν τῷ κατὰ Κριτοφάντος ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνα-
τομικῶν Λαλεῖσιν. Ἄσχηρ' αὖ. Παιροstation. εἶδον
ὁμῶρεῖσιν τοῦ ἰὸν τὸν Κριτοφάντου πρὸς Φ. Λέππυ, Aschm.
II, 81.

ἐπίδειξιν. (Cf. ἐπιδείκναι, § 18, 70)

ἀναπέμπεσθαι "to be sent up the country," i.e. into Asia, passive, as it is taken by the Schulmeister, by Harpocration, and by Wolf in his Latin version. Cf. 164.

ἐν τῇ μετριοτήτι κριθήσονται "Ibid. *facto* will depend on,"
"facti *adh.*" *Class. Gr. Gr.* § 456 c. *Thucyd.*, *Eur. Med.* 223.

134 Ἑλλήνων, cf. § 106.

ἀγωνίζεσθαι, as though the world were looking on: properly of contests in the public games. Cf. § 132. Dem. de Cor. 66.

τοῦ τῆς πατρίδος ἐδάφους, 'the very soil of the fatherland,' i.e. the struggle is taking place at home not abroad. Cf. Dem. *de fide*, 39, κακόφρων ἀνὴρ ἐστὶ (Filiππος) καὶ ἐχθρὸς ὅλῃ τῇ πόλει καὶ τῇ πύλλει ἐδάφει, *Ibid.* 60. Pseudo-Dem. c. Aristot. ii. 11. Demosthenes attributes the misfortune to the hostility of Philip, Aeschines to the policy of Demosthenes.

ἔξ ὅτου Δημοσθένης. *Post hoc ergo propter hoc.* Cf. Ar. *Elenc.* II, 24, 8. ἄλλος (τόπος των φαινομένων ἐνθυμημάτων) παρὰ τὴν ἀναίτιον ὡς αἰτίαν, ὅτι τῇ ὁμοίᾳ ἢ μετὰ τούτω γεγενῆσθαι τὸ γὰρ μετὰ τούτω ὡς διὰ τούτω λαμβάνονται, καὶ μάλιστα οἱ ἐν ταῖς πολιτείαις, ὅτι ὡς ὁ Δημοσθένης τὴν Δημοσθένους πολιτείαν πάντων τῶν ἑσῶν αἰτῶν μετ' ἐκείνην γὰρ συνέβη ὁ πόλεμος. We should have expected Aristotle to quote Aeschines here rather than Demades. Spengel (*Vertheid. Ktes.* p. 70) suggests that this trial had not commenced when Aristotle was writing that chapter of the *Rhetoric*.

πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν προσεγγλθεν 'has taken part in the conduct of public affairs.' Cl. §§ 17 fin., 22, 217. Shilleto, Dem. F. L. § 2 n. In the section last quoted will be found an instance of πολιτεία in the same sense as here. Weidn. prefers the reading, εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν παρεγγλθεν, *furtim se insinnavit*, but cp. Dem. Cor. § 257 ἐπειδὴ δὲ πρὸς τὰ κοινὰ προσεγγλεν εὐθὺς αὖ.

ἀποφαίνεται 'pronounces.' Hesiod, *Op. et D.* 246 ff.
(Aeschines had quoted the first two of these lines with refer-

ence to Demosthenes before, F. L. 158. He omits here two lines, 244-5, as unsuitable to his purpose. Recent editors of Hesiod bracket the whole passage as a late insertion. See *Werke u. Leben*, p. 76 B., Flach, *die Hes. Gedichte*. Boys were taught to read, to learn by heart, and to sing to the accompaniment of the lyre, passages from Homer, Hesiod and other poets. Plat. *Prot.* 325 E. *Al. Nob.* 961. A. S. Wilkins, *National Education in Greece*, p. 74.

τὰ πλήθη 'the people.' Dem. refers to Dem. *Prot.* II, § 24, ἀλλὰ τὰ πλῆθη πρὸς τοὺς ἐγγύς, and the similar plural of ὅσων which often occurs in Dem. *c. Lept.*

προσδέχεται 'to listen to (with approval).' Cf. § 16.

135 ἀπήρα 'suffers from'; αἰδία το ἀπάρητι, perhaps to ἐρῶ. (Sonn. *Zeitsch. f. phil. Sprach.* xiv. pp. 417, 422.) Both the meaning 'to receive'—good or ill, and the construction with the *acc.* case, are post-Homeric. Deliantha in *Demosth.* § 91 was ἀπολαίει in the same sense.

μηχανάται = μηχανήται, προσηγορία assimilation. See Peile's *Etymologia*, Vol. 3, p. 257. *Compositio*: *συνέχ (concatenatio)*, § 120 and *Prot.* p. vii. "Aliter Reach (Hualdri p. 447) rem explicavit, qui assimilationem propretientiam assimilationis vocativum prioris a mensuram into ad alteram vocalem transisse ostendit; ut indicativus μηχανάται non divergens sit a μηχανήται." Flach.

136 περιελόντες τὸ μέτρον 'stripping off,' as it were the shell from the kernel. Cf. Plat. *Gorg.* 592 c, and Cron's note.

137 See Grote xi. p. 295. Phrynionides and Euryclides were proverbial *παροῖοι*; the former an Athenian who, according to Suidas s.v., ὁ κακοῦς καὶ παρρηγῆς, μετὰ τινος μηχανὰς πραγμάτων ἐπὶ κακῶς ῥαδίως συνετίθαι. Cf. Aristoph. *Thesm.* 862, *Fragm.* 92. Dem. *de Cor.* § 24. Isocr. 18. 57. Plat. *Prot.* 327 b. The latter, a Lydian, is referred to by Plato (*Prot.* ubi sup.) in the dative case. Elym. *Mag.* Harpocrat. s.v. and Eustathius (Hom. *Od.* T. 245) call him Euryclides. He was sent by Croesus into the Peloponnese with a sum of money to hire mercenaries, but turned traitor and went over to Cyrus.

μάγος καὶ γόης 'magician and enchanter,' i.e. impostor. Cf. § 16, κακούργον σοφιστήν, and Dem. *de Cor.* § 276 (in reference to these passages), δειδὼν καὶ γόστα καὶ σοφιστὴν δαμαζῶν. Μάγος, the name of a Persian family which formed the sacerdotal caste (Herod. i. 101), see Vanlück, *Freudenth.* p. 31; Curtius (No. 642) connects γοήτης with γῶος, γῶος, cf. *invantare*. Both words were used of the summoners of spirits, the former rather with reference to good spirits, the latter to

evil. Suidas s.v. γοήστῃα. As applied to persuasive speech cf. Isocr. *Hipp.* 1098.

τοιοῦτος ὅς. With τῶνδε understood *cf.* ὅς, Weidn. So generally, when τῶνδε is followed by ὅς, some clause containing *cf.* must be supplied. See on § 234, Isocr. 7. 45. 6, 47. Suidas s.v. ὅς. *Lyons* 7 § 14; 13 § 63.

γῆ ἄνθρωποι 'Earth and Heaven, Spirits and Men,' cf. *Isocr.* δαίμονες, spirits of the departed, attendant on men like guardian angels. Cf. Hesiod *Op. et D.* 121 ff. and Aesch. *Agam.* 222, 223, with Flach's notes to all three passages. ὦ γῆ καὶ θεοί, cf. Dem. *de Cor.* 158.

ὡς ἄρα, as often, introducing the words of another, an opinion which is not that of the speaker, cf. § 13.

τὸν καιρὸν. cf. § 239, Dem. *de Cor.* 212.

διδ τὰς Δημοσθένους δημηγορίας. cf. § 256, ὅταν σὴ ἐπὶ λῆγει ὁμιλοῦντες ἀποστρέψωμεν. The circumstances of the time had, no doubt, a great effect on the Thracians, but certainly Aeschines is here underestimating the influence of Demosthenes on their conduct. Compare the express testimony of the contemporary historian Thucydides (ep. Plat. *Dem.* 18, referred to by Grote, ubi sup. l. 7) ὅτι τὸ πρῶτον δὲ αὐτῶν ἐκρηγνύοντα τὰς θύρας αὐτῶν καὶ διασπένοντα τὴν φιλοτιμίαν ἐπελάτουν τοὺς ἄλλους ὅπως ὥστε καὶ εὐδοκῶν καὶ δεγνύον καὶ χάρις ἐκβλάσκον αὐτοῖς, ἐκθροῦντας ἐπὶ τοῖς λόγοις πρὸς τὰ καλὰ.

138 προσβέας ἐπρόσβουσαν, Acc. of inner object, Curtius *de. Gr.* § 400 a. *Comitate Accusative*, Goodwin. *Gr. Gr.* § 153.

Therastylades of Colyria (a deme of the tribe Acrois) like his more illustrious namesake Therastylades of Stira (deme of the tribe Pandion) had taken part in the occupation of Phyle and the Piræus (Grote, viii. 56, 59. Dem. *c. Timocr.* 134, τὰς ἐκ Περικλέους καὶ ἀπὸ Φυλῆς ὅτις ἦν). He and some ships under his command fell into the hands of the Spartan Amaladas a little before the peace which goes by the name of the latter (Xen. *Hell.* v. 1, 26). In consequence of this he was regarded with suspicion as a traitor (Lysias 26, 23). He was also charged with having, for a bribe, changed the order of government in Boeotia (Lys. *ibid.*). Demosthenes (ubi sup.) mentions that he was twice put on his trial and imprisoned.

Thrason of Erchia (a deme of the tribe Acrois) is mentioned by Demosthenes *de. Lept.* 38) in company with Cephalus and others as a good citizen who had helped to maintain the freedom of Thebes against Sparta.

Leotimus or Acharnæus (deme of the tribe Oenoe) pupil of Isocrates (*Isocr. de. Grati.* 857 1) is alluded to by Demosthenes (*Lept.* 146) with Aristophan Azaniensis and others as *αἰσῶν* of *δουλοῦ* λέγειν *δούλους*.

139 Archelomus is Πόλεξ, i.e. of the deme Πόλεξ of the tribe Leontis mentioned also as a Boeotian by Plutarch (*de dem. Sacr.* i. 57) v.

Aristophanes of Azania (deme of the tribe Hippothoontes) one of the most influential statesmen of the time following the fall of the Thirty Tyrants. Cf. *inf.* 194. c. *Demarch.* 84. *Dem. de Cor.* 162. *Lept.* 146 with Wolf's note.

Pyrrhander, possibly the orator who rebuked the people for laughing in the presence of the council in Aristophanes, c. *Demarch.* 84.

τὸ αὔτιον. It is given fully in *Dem. de Cor.* 18. πρῶτον μὲν ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἔλαττεν ὥστε Φωκῶν μὲν πολεῖσθαι σπασθῆναι, Θηβαίους δ' οὐκ ἔπειθε ἐν ἐπισημοῖσι παύσασθαι καὶ γὰρ ἀντιχρῆσθαι ἐν Ἀργείοις αἱ μετὰ τὸν ἐκείνου. 35, τὸ ἀναλίσκον καὶ τὴν ἀντιχρῆσθαι τῆς τῶν Οὐραίων.

140 Νίκαιαν. An important fortress on the coast belonging to the Epichoristidae Locrians, situated in and commanding the pass of Thermopylae, having 40 stades eastward of the latter (πρὸς τὰς Θερμοπύλαις ἄρτι φερόμεν διὰ τῶν στενῶν, Strabo ix. p. 428). It had been handed over to Philip by Philaenus the Phocian general at the end of the Phocian war in 346 (Aesch. *I. L.* 188, Ἀλκιμαχὸς καὶ Νικίανος, παλαιότερος Φωκίων Μακεδόνος). It was then put into the hands of the Thessalians by Philip, cf. *Dem. Phil.* ii. 22, ὅτ' αὐτοὶ (τοὺς Θεσσαλοὺς) τοὺς τοῦτοιοῦς ἐδέχθη καὶ πάντα Νίκαιαν καὶ Μαγνησίαν ἐδέξαν. Consequently the account of Philaenus' having suggested: probably it was the occupation of Nicaea at a later period (342) by Macedonian troops, cf. *(Dem.) Phil.* i. 4, ὑποπτεύεται δὲ (Φίλιππος) ὅτι Θεσσαλὸν Νίκαιαν μὲν φερόμεν κατέχων. Cf. Schaefer ii. 265, 271, 402, 404. Rehdantz, *Leitfaden*, §§ 66, 76. Grote (xi. 287) makes Philip transfer Nicaea from the Thebans to the Thessalians in 350. This seems hardly reconcilable with the passage above quoted from the Second Philippic (delivered in 344). Cf. Vogel in *Index*. *Index*. Sic. xvi. 69.

ἐπήγαγε... ἐπ' αὐτὰς τὰς Θηβάς 'brought to bear on.' Cf. *Dem. de Cor.* 19, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὰς ἀγέτω τὸν πόλεμον. W. with Taylor and others omits τὸν πόλεμον.

Ἐλάτταν... εἰσήγαγεν. Cf. *Dem. de Cor.* 27, καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ κείνῃ τοὺς στενοὺς καὶ τὴν ἐκείνην ταύτην ἔχον τὰς πόλεις τὰς εἰς τὴν Φωκίαν καὶ τὴν Βοιωτίαν. Strabo, *lib.* ix. Philip occupied this place in the winter of 331. Grote xi. 287. Cf. the famous passage in *Dem. de Cor.* § 109 ff.

ἐχαράκωσε. Cf. *Deat. Antolog.* s.v. Vallart. *Dem. de Cor.* 57.

μετεπέμψαντο. This is not true of the whole Theban people, which did not come to a decision until the envoys had been heard at Thebes. Schaefer ii. 516. 2, and Theocritus, *supr.* 137.

καὶ ἐξήλθετε... πρὶν... γράψαι. vivid misrepresentation, Weidn. But unless the orator trusted to the short memories of his audience, we must imagine that he had something to go upon. Perhaps a hasty levy took place before a decree was formally proposed by Demosthenes.

εἰσῆτε, (more frequently εἰσῆτε, Vahlen s.v. εἰσῆτε) 'were ready to enter.' Probably the Athenians marched as far as Eleusis at the suggestion of Demosthenes. *De Cor.* 177, ἐπειτ' ἐξελθόντας Ἐλευσίαν τοὺς ἐν ἡμέλῃ καὶ τοὺς ἱππεὺς δεῖξαι πᾶσαν ὑμᾶς αὐτοῖς ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ὄντας.

ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις 'armed.' Cf. *Leont.* c. *Leont.* 37, τὴν μάχην καταναῖεν ἐς Παιανίαν ἐν τῶν ὅπλων ἔδωκε, καὶ πρῶτον ἀσκεύασθαι ὅτι ἀρ. ἐκεί. δισκευασμένοι, 'after making arrangements (for battle).' Rehdantz, *Index*, p. 213. This word occurs only once in Thucydides (iv. 58, 4).

μίαν μόνην 'one single.' Cf. *εἰς μίαν*, Plat. *Apol.* 25 n, and *μία μόνη* in Homer; a colloquial expression.

141 ὁ δ' εἰσάγων ἦν 'what really brought about your entrance into Thebes was—' On this passage see Grote xi. 297, note 3.

πρῶτον μὲν 'first' followed by *δεύτερον δὲ* § 145 'second,' and *τρίτον δὲ* § 146 'third.' The first *ἀνακίνησις* of Demosthenes which consists in his concealing the real state of affairs with regard to Philip, Athens, and Thebes, is followed by two subordinate offences *αἱ πρῶτον μὲν* § 142, *(ἡ) δεύτερον δὲ* § 143.

μᾶλλον μισοῦντος Θηβαίους, on whose continued adhesion he had calculated, as a return for benefits conferred. Grote xi. 297.

αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα. Philip's treatment of the two cities after the battle of Chaeroneia. Grote xi. 310.

142 μηκέτι βουλείσθαι... ἀλλ' ἀγαπᾶν μόνον 'no longer to deliberate on what terms they should conclude the alliance, but simply to be content with its taking place.' Cf. *Dem. de Cor.* 178.

ἀγαπᾶν, followed by *αἱ*, so § 147. *Dem. de Cor.* 220.

τοῦτο δὲ προλαβὼν 'having gained this point,' i.e. that the alliance should be concluded unconditionally.

ἔκδοτον. Cf. *supr.* 61 n.

τοῖς ὀνόμασι...πράγματα 'deceiving with his phrases and confusing the facts.' Cf. § 99, § 103. The deception lies, Aeschines would imply, in the phrase Βοιωτοὶ τοῖς ἐν Θηβαῖς. The Boeotians would understand it of their representatives in congress at Thebes, while it might really describe the Thebans as opposed to the rest of Boeotia. Demosthenes probably intended it in the former sense, and, as I have pointed out, it would give less offence at Athens than the phrase τοῖς Θηβαίοις. οὐκ εἴπερ βροτῶν Θηβαίων, δλκ', ὅσα λάβη, τῇ περιφροσίνῃ ἐχέμεναι, Schol. For the use of Βοιωτῶν as antonymic to the Thebans, — because viewed not them as the head of Boeotia, — see Hicks *Greek Inscriptions* p. 123. ὥς τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς ἔργῳ κακῶς πείσχοντας, through this clause in the decree which would make them subject to Thebes. For the construction, cf. § 183 and Goodwin, *Gr. Gr.* p. 301, n. 2 a. Dem. *de Cor.* § 122.

ἀγαπήσοντας τὴν σύνθεσιν. ἀγαπᾶν c. accus. 'to cherish, to love.' For the different constructions with ἀγαπᾶν see Stanley's note to Isocrates, *Paneg.* 140. Dem. *de Cor.* § 112.

143 τὰ δύο μέρη. This is confirmed by Demosthenes, *de Cor.* 297—8.

ἀνέθηκε 'saddled you with,' as a burden. *ἀνέθην*, in a good sense, *ἀνέθηκε* τὴν ὑγίαναιαν Θηβαίαν 'entrusted to.' Cf. Thuc. viii. 82. Weller quotes Ar. Av. 516 and Nub. 1153 in illustration of the former sense, where however the word will be found rather to bear the latter; and Cobet would read *ἀνέθηκε*.

εἰ μὴ δὲ ληρεῖν 'if one ought not to trifle,' 'not to mince the matter.' εἰ δὲ μὴ ληρεῖν Dem. *de Cor.* 207. 'If one must give the thing its right name,' Weller. εἰ δὲ ληρεῖν occurs [Dem.] *Paneg.* iv. 55. Cobet would read *δὲ μὴ*.

φέρων. Cf. § 82 n.

παρὰ τὸν γινόμενον πόλεμον 'in the course of,' 'throughout.' Cf. § 37.

Στρατοκλέα. Hec. Sic. lxxvi. 85 mentions only Clearchus and Lysicles as Athenian commanders present at Chaeroneia. But Polyænus (*Strateg.* iv. 2, 2) speaks of Stratoctes as in command of the battle and as being outmanoeuvred by Philip.

We hear nothing from any other authority of any subordination of the Athenian to the Theban land force. E. Mueller conjectures that the clause relating to the supreme command may have been worded like that in Thuc. v. 47, ἡ δὲ πόλις ἡ μεταπεισμένη τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἔχουσα, ὅταν ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ὁ πόλεμος ᾖ. ἢ δὲ ποιῶν ταῖς πόλεσι καὶ στρατιώσιν, τὸ ἴσον τῇ ἡγεμονίᾳ μεταδίδωμι πᾶσι ταῖς πόλεσιν.

144 οὐκ ὀργίζεσθε. i.e. you always acquit him when he is accused. With this Demosthenes agrees, *de Cor.* 249.

ἐκείνο...πρὸς Δημοσθένην 'the fact is, your feelings towards Demosthenes have come to be these.'

συνείθισθε. Iolme refers to Cicero (*pro Milone*, 76, of Clodius) *sed necito quo modum usu abduerit et perculit cum civitate impudens patientia*.

145 τὸ βουλευτήριον καὶ τὴν δημοκρατίαν 'the deliberative assembly and the government of the people.'

ἐλαθεν ὑφελόμενος. Cf. § 64.

μετήνεγκεν 'reimposed.'

τὴν Καρμεῖαν, the citadel of Thebes. In reference to the name of Epaminondas (Aesch. *F. L.* 105), 'Ἐπαιμονίδης οὐχ ὁμοιωθεὶς τὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἄλμα ἀπὲρ διαστήσαν ἐν τῇ πόλει τῶν Θηβαίων, ὡς δὲ τὰ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἀποδόσεις προέβλεπον μετενεγκεν εἰς τὴν πρακτικὴν τῆς Καρμεῖας. According to Aeschines, Demosthenes had in a manner fulfilled the desire of the Theban assembly.

τῶν πραξέων 'ways and means.' Schol. to Dem. *F. L.* 145 (133).

τοῖς Βοιωτάρχαις. Thuc. iv. 91 τῶν ἄλλων Βοιωτάρχων, οὐ μὴν ἐκείνων, οὐδ' ἀποτακτικῶν οὐδ' ἐσθλῶν. Παράλλως δ' Αἰολίδα Βοιωτάρχων ἐκ ἐκείνων μετ' Ἀρμισθίου τοῦ Αἰολίτου καὶ ἡγεμονίας αὐτῶν, ἐπειτὶ τοῖς Βοιωτοῖς ὄναι ἐπὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις. The schol. (Classen, Bodinæ, Krieger, etc.) following Diod. (*Geogr. Imagin.* l. 729) refer the relative εἰ in this passage to the preceding Βοιωτάρχων only, and take eleven to be the total number of the Boeotarchs, two coming from Thebes, the rest from the other Boeotian states. So Grote ii. 206. This view is supported by the Scholiast to Thuc. ii. 2. Arnold and Cobet (*Far. Lect.* p. 451) refer the relative to the preceding τῶν ἄλλων Βοιωτάρχων, regarding those as opposed to the two Theban Boeotarchs, and so make out the total number to be thirteen. So *Dict. Antiq.* 205 a.

συνθέμενος 'having agreed upon', 'in concert with.'

δυναστείαν 'tyranny.' Curtius, *Gr. Hist.* v. 483 n. Cf. Curt. 3 n. Plutarch, *Dem.* 18 αὐτῷ δὲ μέγα καὶ λαμπρὸν ἐγένετο τὸ τῶν πόλεων ἡγεμονία, ὥστε...ἀποστῆναι μὴ μόνον τοῖς στρατηγοῖς τῷ Δημοσθένει ποιούντι τὸ πρωταρχικόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς Βοιωτάρχεις, ἀποστῆναι δὲ τὰς ἐκκλησίας ἀπάσας οὐδὲν ἥττον ἐπ' αὐτῷ τῷ τῶν Θηβαίων ἢ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἀγαπώμενοι παρ' ἀμφοτέρωσιν καὶ δυναστεύοντες οὐκ ἄλλως οὐδὲ παρ' ἑξῆς, ὥστε ἀποστῆναι Θιάστωρος, ἀλλὰ καὶ παντὶ πρωταρχικῶς.

κατεσκεύασεν 'cunningly contrived,' *supr.* 95, *infra* 223.

ἤδη παριών. ἔφη 'he went so far as to come forward, and say.' For ἤδη *ep.* § 52.

πρεσβεύειν ὅποι ἂν αὐτῷ δοκῇ. Cf. Dem. *de Cor.* 178 χειροτονῆσαι καλεῖται δὲ πρεσβεῖς καὶ ποιεῖται τοὺς κινήσεις μετὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν. "The recommendation of Demosthenes was adopted... Demosthenes himself being named chief of the ten envoys." Grote xi. 291-2. "Probably in mission to other cities also for the purpose of pressing military efforts." *Ibid.* 301. Cf. Plut. *Dem.* 18. Schaefer *Dem.* ii. 527. 1. The Scholiast here says, ὁ Δημοσθένης τοῦτο ἐλεγεν, ἵνα μὴ φιλιππῶν μόνων ὅτι πρεσβεῖς πέμπων ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν ἀντιπροσώπων καὶ ἀπὸ πρεσβευσμένων βουλευαὶ ἄλλα θέων πρεσβεύσαι. καὶ οὕτως οἶν ὁ Ἀισχίνης.

146 εἰ δέ τις αὐτῷ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἀντίποι. As Phocion did. Cf. Plut. *Phoc.* 16, Curtius, *Gr.* II. v. 428, 432.

διαδικασίαν. Διαδικασίαι formed a subdivision of the δίκαι παρὸς τινα (suits which do not involve punishment, *opp.* to δίκαι κατὰ τινας those which do). In them the question at issue is the gaining possession of a thing claimed by several persons, or the acceptance of an obligation which it is desired to shift from oneself to another, or the claim to a right or privilege. Schoemann, *Gr.* *Antiq.* p. 482 Eng. trans.; *der Attische Process* p. 471. C. R. Kennedy gives the English equivalent 'interpleader,' Dem. Vol. v. pp. 86-87. See his note on the word, Dem. Vol. iii. pp. 372-3, and *The Student's Blackstone*, p. 370. Lysias 17 § 1. Translate 'an action to decide the right of precedence on behalf of the orators' tribune against the generals' office,' i.e. to have the question settled which was supreme.

στρατήγιον, the official meeting-place of the ten στρατηγοὶ at Athens, 'the War-office.' Pindarch *Nie.* 5 and 15.

μισθοφορῶν δέ 'but, in the case of the mercenary force, receiving pay for soldiers' places not filled up, for 'men of straw.' Inspectors were sometimes sent to ascertain the real number of a mercenary force and so prevent the general from appropriating the pay of soldiers who existed only on the roll. Cf. Dem. c. *Timarch.* 113 ἐπεσπίζεις τὰν ἐν Ἑσπέρῃ ξένων. *de fals. leg.* 177. Boeckh, *Publ. Econ. of Athens*, Vol. i. p. 323, Eng. trans.

καὶ τὰ στρατιωτικά... κλέπτων 'embezzling the pay of the forces.'

τοὺς μυρίους ξένους. "To march against Athens was his (Philip's) first idea; he must have been encouraged in it by

the fact that 10,000 mercenaries under Chares were sent over to the Amphibolians on the advice of Demosthenes. This was in the highest degree imprudent, or did Demosthenes believe that he could with this handful of men keep Philip in Phokis and conquer him? It almost seems so. Athens thereby, as Aeschines justly objects, only weakened her own power and played into the hands of the king: that ten thousand would have been very useful at Chalcidice, had it not been sacrificed at Amphissa." *Spongh. Fifth. Hist.* 42. Dinarchus i. 74 speaks of another officer, ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔμοις τοῖς εἰς Ἀμφίσσαν συλλεγόμενοι Πυλίωνος ὁ προκτείνων ἐγένετο, but from the context and from Polyanius (iv. ii. 8), who mentions both Chares and Proxenus, it appears that the latter was a Theban. Schaefer. ii. 513. 3. Grote xi. 302. Dem. *de Cor.* § 247.

διαμαρτυρομένου καὶ σχετλιάζοντος 'protesting and complaining.' Σχετλιάζω est clamare aliquid σχετλίαν esse, imprecari et iniuriarum, invidiosissime. Dr.

προσέμμεξε φέρων... τῇ πόλει 'he wantonly brought the danger to the city's door, defenceless as she was after the destruction of her mercenaries.'

ἀναρπασθέντων 'being thus snatched from us.' Cf. § 123 n. The generals commanding this mercenary force were deceived by a despatch of Philip's, which he took care should fall into their hands, announcing his intended return to Thrace; abandoned their watch at the narrow parts of the road, and were then attacked and defeated: so that this mercenary force of 10,000 was lost to Athens and did not save Amphissa. τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἀναρπασθέντας ἐνόησε καὶ τὴν Ἀμφίσσαν ἐκείνη, Polyanius l. c.

ἀπαρασκεύῳ, unprovided (with mercenaries), cf. § 70 ὅτι μὴδ' ἀπαρασκεύῃ πολέμασταιμεν. φέρων 'wantonly,' 'mouth-willay,' Wood. cf. §§ 82, 143.

147 τί γὰρ... εὐξασθαι; A common line of argument from Homer downwards. Cf. *Il.* i. 255. Dem. *de Chers.* 20.

πολιτικὴν δύναμιν, § 96 n.

τηλικαίτης πληγῆς. Plut. *Dem.* 18 φιλιππος ἐπὶ τῆς περὶ τὴν Ἀμφίσσαν εὐρύχου ἐπαρμόματος εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐξαίφνης ἐπέπεσε.

οὐκ ἀγαπᾷ εἰ μὴ κ.τ.λ. Cf. § 142 n. Goodwin, *Moods and Tenses*, p. 120.

τοῦτ' ἤδη ἀγανακτεῖ is a well-supported reading, 'he goes so far as to be indignant,' cf. §§ 52, 145. He is not content with the disputation, he actually prescribes the manner in which it is to be conferred.

see. Plut. *Arts.* 33, ἐπὶ πρυτανίᾳ γὰρ εὐαὶα καὶ τὰς γενναῖ-
αι. Notice that ἐπὶ is singular and ἐπὶ is plural and in the
following section, πρυτανίς is the subject of the sentence.

δόξωσι. Goodwin, *M. & T.* p. 20.

παράταξιν '11111' Cl. 284.

152 τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν Compare the eulogy of Lysias, c. *L.* 1, 10 ff.

ἀθίτων... ἱερῶν *op.* § 121.

τοῖς δραπέταις ποσὶ. *Δραπέτης* quod plerumque substantivum punitur hoc loco adjective postum est. H. Cf. *δραπέτης* γυναικὸς Donn. *de car.* 127. *Νόμος πολέμου* Xen. *An.* 6. 3. 11. *δραπέτης* βίος Eur. *Am.* 1878. *Νόμος ἔταρος* Plat. *Phaedr.* 260 b. Such substantives (Krieger, *op.* 57. 1. 3) were originally adjectives, and in this connexion are rare in good prose. Cf. Lat. *fugitivus*.

This imputation of pedlar cowardice at Chaeroneia appears for the first time in § 118 and is often repeated in this speech, 175, 244, 253, cf. *Phil. Dem.* 14, 2, *αὐτὸν δὲ δευτέρῳ δόξαν εὐνοίας*, *ὡς φησὶν ὁ Δημοκρίτης*. Other examples and later writers give details. Pylaios ap. *Phil. Dem.* 29, *ἀποδοὺς αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ ὅσα ἴδους αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ τῆς δεξιᾶς, αἱ δὲ γὰρ Πάριον, αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν γυναικῶν γυναικῶν χροῖται*; *Agath. c. 15*. Demochus c. *Dem.* 12, *ἐκείνους μὲν αὐτὸς τὸν δὲν εἶπεν*. *Isokrat. de Poris*, 42. Gellias c. 11, 21, who makes Demochlothes when reproached with his flight quote the line *ὅρα δὲ φωνῶν καὶ πάλιν ἀνέστηναι*: till we come to the story in the *Comic Ec.* act. 845 f., *ὅρα δὲ Χαιρωνίους* καὶ *δραὶ τὴν πόλιν ἔπειν, φωνῶντα δὲ αὐτὸν εἶπεν ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει τῆς χαιρώνος, τὸν δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει εἶπεν* 'χαίρει'. The reply of Demochlothes will be found in the *Ec.* 245-248. Schaefer, *Dem.* iii. 32, 2. Grote xi. 306f.

ἐγκωμιάζων. Theopompus (ap. Plut. *Dem.* 21) obtained the selection of Demosthenes as the orator to pronounce the *ἀγὼν ἐπιτάσιος*: *ὥστε καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐκ Χαλκιδέας ἀνελθόντα καὶ ἀπαιτῶντα τὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἵππαις ἀγῶνα* (1. 209), *ὁ τοῦτον μὲν ἀγῶνα φέρειν τὸ πρῶτον καὶ ὡς τῶν καὶ τριῶνται Οὐλοπότου, ὅθεν τὸ πρῶτον ἀλλήλα καὶ σὸντο, τὸ δεύτερον ἀπὸ δαμνίου τοῦ καὶ μετὰλλοῦ τοῦ βρομίου*. See *Dem. in Clav.* 246—255.

For details respecting the public interment of the bones of those who had died in the service of their country, at a tomb place in the outer Ceramibus every year, in times of both war and peace, see Thuc. ii. 34, Isocr. *de Pace*, 87, Cic. *de Senect.* ch. xlv. § 151, Schaefer, *Idem*, iii. 31. 4. The Ages of the

appended by Collingwood to the works of Demosthenes is declared by him to be evidently undemosthenic in form and contents: *ὁ ῥητορὸς καὶ ἄλλος καὶ παλαιότερος ἑταίρος*. *Syllabus, Mem. iii. 33. 3.*

τὴν ἐκείνων ἀρετὴν ὁλοκλήρως αἰσθάνεσθαι. Weidner points out that the transition from the relative to the demonstrative, common enough in two clauses of a sentence joined by *καὶ οὐτε τις* (cf. *schol.* 118, 128), occurs here in one clause through the connection of a participle with a finite verb, and that the only illustration of this usage given by Kühnert (*Gr. Gr.*, iii, 7, 3) is Xen. *HT*, i, vi, 1, *ῥαλλόμενοι τοὺς ἀλλοτρίους τοὺς εὐφραίνεσθαι ὡς ἐπὶ ἑαυτοῖς, δι' ἧς θύλασθαι, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἑταίροις ἐννομεῖσθαι, ἀπολαύουσιν ἀπολαύοντες αὐτοῖς*. He adds *cf. de civ. i, 61, τὰ ἡμέτερα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα κοινῶς γινώσκοντες*. An exactly similar phrase occurs in Plato. *Menon*, 239 D, *γινώσκοντες δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς καὶ οἱ πάλαι μαθηματικὸς ἐπαίεσθαι αὐτῶν τοὺς ἀστρον*, quoted by Kühnert, *Gr. Gr.* ii, p. 936.

ἀχρηστότατε... θαυμασιώτατε. 'Ομοιοπύματον' Ἀγγλὴν γὰρ
πύματον ἐστὶ ἀνιψιότατον τῶν ἄλλων γυναικῶν. Alexander *op. Rhod.*
Orator. III. p. 36, Testimon. 10108. This σχῆμα occurs in the
poem, once in Dem. II *Phil.* 21, in the next case in Dem. *de*
Olaps. 6. Boeckhiana, Ind. p. 8. v. It is, in fact, a kind of rhy-
ming. Volkmann, *Lectiones*, p. 411.

ἐπιχειρήσεις. This is Loeb's conjecture. The ms. have ἐπιχειρήσεις ἐκείνης or ἐκείνων. Loeb says, "facile enim factum fuit, ut ἐκείνων, quod alibi super ἐπιχειρήσεις pro scholio scriptum est, alibi minus intelligens quid tibi vellet, in textum introllet." Biondi and Franko retain ἐπιχειρήσεις ἐκείνων. Scudello in his review of Franko's text (*Julius Jahrbücher*, Berlin, p. 157) points out that, while this would be the only place where we meet the future of a verb of willing with the fut. inf. of a similar verb dependent on it and another infinitive dependent on this, still ἐπιχειρήσεις would hardly need explanation by means of ἐκείνων even for a very unintelligent reader. The two infinitives may well have been used for the sake of emphasis and the passages (Plat. *Rep.* v. 459 c s. f. καθύπερθε λέγειν χαίρειν, [Herc.] *Trapa.* 369 c ἀκούειν—κατανοεῖν τὴν γεωμετρίαν) quoted by Loebck, *Phryg.* p. 748 n., though not exactly parallel, are in favour of the ms. reading. See also Herod. vi. 137, ἐπεδουλοῦντας ἐπιχειρήσεις.

βλέπων εἰς τὰ τοῦτων πρόσωπα. Formula est impudentiam
noīans. Dr. cp. § 137 and § 151 ἀντιβλέπων u.

συναποθάνεται μνήμη. Cf. Ιουδαί. 50, παρατήρη γὰρ τοῖς
παισι τὸν νόμον ὃν οἱ ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες ἐκείνην.

153 γένεσθε τὴν διάνοιαν 'transfer yourself in thought to the theatre.' Cf. 157, 186. *Arg. case* as in *v. Timothee*, 179, ἐπειδὴν τὰς ψυχὰς ἐπ' ἐστέρων γένεσθε. Goodwin, *Gr.* § 160.

νομίσασθ' ὁρᾶν. The future διατύπωσης frequently employed by Aeschines. Cf. *int.* 157. *Constitution* (Cic. ad *Postum.*) iv. 55, *Es* renders *δεικνύω* by *demonstratio*. *De demonstratio est, cum ita verba res exprimitur, ut non uerbum et res ante oculos esse videntur.* Volkmann, *Rhet.* pp. 247-8.

ἐπεισιούσιν 'that will be brought on the stage.' See *deus* of the actors § 204, and ἐπεισάγειν of the poet §§ 234, 297.

ἀγνομοσύνη 'want of feeling,' 'callousness,' cf. Soph. *Trach.* 172 ff. and see §§ 170, 244. Dem. *Mal.* 47, τὴν αἰσῶν ἀγν. τὸν ὅπως ἀγνοῦνται. *de Car.* 209.

154 ἐλευθερίως. Vel sine litis in Ctesiph. § 134 corrected ἐλευθερίως ἐστὶν παλαιὰ ἐλευθερία, pro ἐλευθερία. *C. Mal.* *Nep.* *Lyr.* 104. ἐλευθερία = liberality (of education), ἐλευθερία = freely (of speech), cf. Herod. viii. 73 ἐλευθερία ἐστὶν ἀρετή. All edit. adopt this correction. So in *Isocr.* *Paneg.* 40, ἀρετῶν, 42, ἐλευθερίας τὸ ἐλευθερίως is now read "sine litis" for ἐλευθερία. Cf. Aesch. *F. L.* 23.

ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ. During the great Dionysia. *Isocr.* *Ant.* 412 b, 462 b. Kennedy's *Demosthenes*, ite. 285.

γίγνεσθαι, cf. 34, 41.

προστάταις 'holders.' Xen. *Mem.* iii. 4, 6, λέγω γὰρ, ἔφη, ὅς ἐστιν ἂν τις πρῶτος, ὅτε γένηται τὸ ἂν διὰ καὶ ταύτῃ περιγίγται δόγμα, ἀγαθὸν ἂν εἴη πρῶτος, ἐπεὶ ἄριστος αὐτὸν εἴη πᾶσις εἴη ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως. Cf. i. 2, 42, and 40 Περικλῆς πρῶτος ὅτε τῆς πόλεως.

τοὺς ὀρφανούς. According to Dind. Laertius (i. 55) Solon introduced the custom that the orphans of citizens who had fallen in battle for their country should be reared at the expense of the State—δημοσίᾳ τρέφεσθαι καὶ παιδοῦσθαι. Cf. Thuc. ii. 46. Hyperid. *Epitaph.* 1909a. In their eighth year they were publicly declared of age in the theatre during the great Dionysia and dismissed from the guardianship of the State. Plato, *Menex.* 249 a, σὺν τελευτῇ τοῦ πατρὸς σὺν δὲ καταστάσει αὐτοῖς αὐτὴ ἐστὶν ἡ παιδεία αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐκδοὶς εἰς ἀδελφὸν τέλος ἔργον (εἰς ἀδελφὸν τελευτῶν, Lobeck), ἀποτίθεται ἐπὶ τὰ ἐσθλὰ αὐτῶν παροπλίσματα. *Isocr.* *de Pace*, 82, τοὺς Δωδεκῶν ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων ἢ τῶν ἀδελφῶν παροπλίσματα τοῖς παῖσι τῶν ἐκ τῶν πόλεων τελευτῶντων. Aristotle (*Nat. ii. 8*, 5) speaks of the custom of maintaining at the public cost the orphans of citizens killed in battle as still existing at Athens, but Aeschines here implies

that no such orphans had been presented in the theatre for some years past, *Salm.* iii. ii. p. 33.

ἔτρεφε. *de Pace*, *Coinc.* N. L. 114.

ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ 'under the blessing of heaven.' Plat. *Crit.* 43 b, ἀγαθὴν δὲ εἰς ἀρετὴν ἔσται. ὁ Σάβρατος, τὸν βίαν σε τελευτῶν. Σ. ἀλλ' ὁ Κρέτας, ἀγαθὴ τύχη. Formula quā uteretur bene hominibus causa, cum vel ipsi vel alii aliquod susceperunt. Lat. *quid bene erit, quid bonum fore iustitiam vel.* Stallbaum. Cf. Dem. *Olynth.* iii. 18. It was an imprecatory formula in treaties. Thuc. iv. 118. Cf. § 152 note, the inscription on Demosthenes's shield at Chersonesus.

ἐπὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν καὶ ἀδελφῶν. *Salm.* Cf. P. A. Aristides, i. p. 310, ed. Dindorf. (ἀγαθῇ) τῇ τύχῃ (τῶν) ἑαυτῶν καὶ πόλεως καὶ ἀδελφῶν ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ ἀγαθῇ ἀρετῇ, καὶ τῇ κατὰ ἀρετὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς πατρίσι οἰκίαις καὶ τῶν παροπλίστων.

εἰς προεδρίαν, the front seat in the theatre at Festivals, to witness the games. § 76: an honour conferred on those citizens or foreigners who had deserved well of the State. Ar. *Eq.* 575. There was a special seat called *proedria* assigned to the *epheboi*. Ar. *Ac.* 734 *Salm.* *Polux.* iv. 122. Herod. ii. 78.

155 τὸν τῆς ὀρφανίας αἴτιον. Cf. *Is.* xxvi. 12, ὅταν ἴδωμεν ἀποκαταστάσει καὶ ἀρετῇ καὶ ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ, ὅν ἐστις αἴτιος αὐτοῖς αὐτοῖς ἢ ἀδελφῶν αὐτῶν γένεσθαι.

τί ποτ' ἀνερεῖ. Ex antithesi scriptura THOTANEPEI omnia liberos sine causa diciturum τι ποτ' ἂν ἐπὶ αὐτοῖς τι ποτ' ἂν αὐτῶν καὶ correctum ἐστὶν, in uno versu huius ἀνερεῖ reposita est. *Cicero*, *Off.* 48. τί ποτ' ἀνερεῖ τί ποτ' ἀνερεῖ; cf. *Isocr.* 40, 122, ἀνερεῖ καὶ ἀνερεῖ, and the passive 16, 147. Dem. *de Car.* 149.

καὶ γὰρ ἐάν τινα ἀνερεῖ. Cf. Dem. *Phil.* i. 11, iii. 4.

αὐτὰ τὰ προστάγματα 'only the clauses,' 'singular propositions.' *Isocr.* § 127 n. The directions alone, without more detail, would call forth contradiction.

ἀλλ' οὐ, σωπηθήσεται 'yet the disgrace which the truth involves will not be veiled.' Non tamen Dedecus ex ore Veritatis proditurum, sed ostendendum praesens. *Isocr.* see his note. Truth is represented as repining with reproaches to the praises of the beautiful. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ, after hypothetical and other clauses. 'yet surely.' Cf. § 14, 157.

σωπηθήσεται. Many MSS. give the usual form σωπήσεται which W. now adopts.

εἰ δὲ καὶ οὗτος ἀνὴρ 'if he is really a man.' εἰ δὲ 'if
 really,' introduces a limiting parenthesis, ὅτι being omitted.
 cf. § 11, c. *Demetrii* 51, εἰ δὲ τι περὶ τῶνδε μέτρον. The same
 imputation of *εὐανδρία* occurs in *Joseph. F. L.* 146 and 148, ἡ μὲν
 δὲ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐβουζε μετὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀνδρός εἰς Κορινθίαν καὶ μαθη-
 τὰν πολιτικῶν κτίειν, αὐτὸ δὲ ἀναμνηστικῶς ἄνθρωποι, αὐτὸ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς
 ἀρχαίοις εἶπετο ὡς ἀνὴρ εἰς ἑγγυλῶνς διδοῦναι, etc. *Demetrii* 167.

156 τρόποιον ἵστατε. Aristotle uses here the active voice of ἵστημι in this connection, as Theophrastus always, a. 29, n. 22 etc. and Demetrius *z. L. pt.* 76, 89. Plato, *Menon*, 240 n etc. Xenophon is the only Aine who uses the middle, which he does generally, *Aine*, iv. 6, 27, vi. 3, 32 etc. having the active only in the *Hellenica*, as i. 2, 3, 19 etc. A. Frobach in *Philologus*, XLVIII, p. 185.

ἀφ' ἑμῶν αὐτῶν 'at your own expense,' 'a memorial of your own doing.' Frequently—namely our verse particular ἀφ' ἑμῶν—traced to person possit mention in, Rousseau inde, quod unctis diuina uirtute celebrant, sicut uirtute delectant. Wolf, note to Dem. *L. p.* § 78. Cf. § 116.

alpeire 'olive-leaf.' Cf. Ital. 231, *trifoglio all'asore*. F. 50.
 From *Alil*, 11, *trifoglio* 'the *Alasore*'. Allusion is made to
 the *trifolium* genus, see Ital. Ant. 865. *Noni Mss.* i. 2, 49.
 Ar. *Nob.* 844.

φυγόντας διὰ τοῦτον 'Acquired of their country through
the path of Demosthenes.' § 58 n. *Dem. Lept.* iii.

ὑποδέχθε, εἰ. § 161 πρὸς πρόδωκε ἡ.

τέκνα. As this word seems out of place, *τμήνη* and *τρία* have been conjectured. *Wald.* assigns the latter but refers to a fragment of Polybius, *ἐν ποσὶ πρὸς ἀπολυμαίνοντα διὰ καὶ διὰ καὶ τέτρα καὶ πέντε ἄλλοις ἐστιασμοῖς*. These are the common names used on soldiers lodging for their country, and therefore are mentioned as the objects lost by the town. See *Aeschyl. Troas* 404 *ἡ παῖς Τρώωνος ἐκείνην πατρίδ', ἔλκεσσι καὶ δὲ / παῖδας, γυναικας, πόλιν τε πατρὶος ἔδης ἔθηκεν τε πρῶτον*.

τὸ βασιλικὸν χρυσίον. Cf. § 270 n.

157 ἀλλὰ ταῖς γε διανοαίαις. Cf. § 155 n. A famous instance of ἀνομία, §§ 153 n. 189 n. De-scriptions quite superior to that Theo. Mysterium non nigrum. Testor. In his περιουσία Theo. quies first Thom. M. vi. 691, 594, then Thom. I. L. 67 and this passage as instances of παρρησία (cum verbis aliis non res affertur).

άλισκομένην τὴν πόλιν, τειχῶν κατασκαφάς, κ.τ.λ. *Agonista*
in *paucis*, cf. § 195.

ἐπισκήπτοντας 'solemnly adjuring you not to': so in
Thuc. II. 73. III. 59.

ἀλιπτήριον Σ. = 131 n.

τύχην. Demosthenes replies to this reproach on his ill luck in *de Cor.* 252, 270, 275.

τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ. literally. So Demosthenes of Philip, *Ant. and Alex.* 1. 9 n., τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ δὲ *Cicero*. *l. c.*

φυλάσσειν 'to be on your guard against.' Cf. Rom. 16: 17, 23. Ἐκλήματα καί.

153 CH. 1114.

Ἰσώτης, *Nob.* n.

ἀπηλλάξε 'οἰσμοσίν' (cf. *Ascoli, l. c.* 48, κατὰ γὰρ ἄλλους, *ταλδο, op. cit.* *De Cor.* § 65).

eis Salamina. The distance across to Salamis is about 5 miles. There is still a ferry-boat, which takes about half an hour from the foot of Mt. Scharounon.

ἀνατρέψῃ 'upside.' Cf. Dem. *Phil.* iii. 69.

αὐτοσχέδια ἔχειν 'to make bungling experiments on.' Ant. *Alcedo* *periculum facere* in compositione Graecorum. Reisk. In Xen. *Hyp. Lac.* 13. 5 the αὐτοσχέδια is opposed to the superior. Cf. Xen. *Mem.* iii. 5. 21. Brand derives the word from *σχέδια*, 'a plan.' Curtius assigns -*schē* and -*schē* to different roots, e.g. and *schē*. *Gr. Et. Nov.* 119. 224.

Effectively "to direct again the helm of state," a word suggested by the reference to the torrymen. The *End* does the business of putting things right after an accident or upset, e.g. "I must offer 'em round."

159-167. Alexander here reaches his fourth period: from the battle of Chancellorsville to the present time, i.e. 1868-1890. In this period the character of Demosthenes has been a mixture of warning caution to our allies, cowardice, and alternate proposition and abject submission to Alexander. He pretended to have instigated the rising in the Philippines; he pretended my ruin when Alexander was in debilities, but never proposed any effective measure in any juncture.

[illegible]

zen, Andros, Coos to solicit aid (ibid. § 42) and collect money; to these Aeschines and Demarchus are probably here alluding. Compare [Plut.] *Vit. deo. or.* p. 845, τὰς πόλεις τὰς ἐν τῇ πελάγει τοῖς κομμασιν ἀφ' ἧς Λογίων. Demosthenes was also at this time appointed *πρωτεύς* (consul) for Athens, crowded as it was with troubles (*Dem. de Coe.* 248); and possibly it was for this *πρωτεύς* that the eight talents mentioned by Demarchus were entrusted to him. Bohnsack, *Actis d. Andr.* 549, 4. "The two hostile orators treat such temporary absence of Demosthenes on the embassy to obtain aid, as if it were a costly, desolation of his post," Grote, xi. 309, 1. See Schaeff. iii. 10, 14.

τρίηρη - ἡργυρολόγησε. This word is used invariably. Cf. ἀργυρολόγοι καὶ, *Ar. Top.* 1071. *Thuc.* iii. 16, iv. 50, sent to collect sums of money from island or sea, not merely local tribute but special sums, impoverishing the unhappy islanders. *Boeckh, Staatsh.* i. 763. The construction of the verb ἀργυρολόγησεν is different in *Thuc.*, see ii. 69, *Shilleto n.*

τῆς ἀπροσδοκήτου σωτηρίας. The unexpected element of Philip towards Athens after the battle of Chaeroneia is the point admitted by the sources Demetrius Aeschines and Plutarch, §§ 26, 227. Polyb. 5, 40 Φίλιππος ἄμετρος Ἀθηναίους ἐπερ X. ἀέχρη οὐ τισὶν οὐκ ἀνέει διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν αὐτῶν ἀνέστης καὶ φιλαθηναῖος τὴν τρίτην ἡμέραν λόγων ἀποπειρᾶς τοὺς ἀθηναίους — τὰ Ἀθηναίων φρονήματα περὶ Φιλίππου ἐγὼ μὲν λαοφίλον. Cicero de Off. 3, 11.

τοὺς μὲν πρῶτους χρόνους. Followed by *ἐπειδὴ δὲ* in the next l., the terror of Demosthenes after the tragedy being contrasted with his boasting on an occasion of Philip's death.

ἄνθρωπος. Cf. § 29, 157.

ήμινος. Cf. *Aschm. Fl. L.* 34, ἀλλ' ἔγχεαι τὸ ψῆλον τοῦτο
 πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ τοῦτον δέσσει. See *Dani. Chr.* 320 ἡμῖν
 καὶ α. γ. λ.

εἰρηνοφύλακα, χairoτονεῖν, i.e. declared his willingness to do what he could to maintain the peace. A. Schaefer, *ib.* 24, 1.

ὑμεῖς δὲ [κατὰ μὲν τοὺς πρῶτους χρόνους]. In his *verbis* quae paulo ante iam hominibus parum elegantes secunda vice ponitur. Quoties abinde se non coelo, Hamaker, Taylor omitted them: Weidner translated them.

ἐπιγράφειν. Ρημ. Ηρω. 21, τὸν μὲν οὖν (ἐπιτάφιος) λόγος
εἶπεν ὁ Δημοσθένης, τὰς δὲ γραφαὶς τοῦ αὐτοῦ 248' ἐκ μέρους τῶν
οὐκ ὄντων ἐπιγράμματα, ἀποσπαστικὰς τῶν ἰσχυρῶν ἀποδείξεων τῶν
τύχων, ὡς αὐτὸς ἀπεδείκνυτο Φαύστου τελευτησαντος. Cf. Ascham,
I. 188, τινος τινος ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς τοῦ δὲμου γυναικὶς ἐπιγράμμασιν,
which the Schol. explains ἐγράμματα γὰρ ἐκ τῶν γραμμάτων, u

δὲνα εἶπεν, Ἀρχὴς ὁ Θεοπότης ὁ τοῦ εἴρους. See also II. 68 and
III. 167.

Ναυσικλῆς. *Iliu. de Chr.* 114. Ναυσικλῆς στρατηγὼν ἐφ' οὗ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἑνὸς πλοίου, πλοῦντας ἐκτρέφοντο οὗ ὅμιλον. This was probably the Nausicles who commanded the Athenian force which in 332 occupied Thermopylae, and so saved it from the attack of Philip. *Græc. an. p.* 103. From the wording of Aesch. *P. L.* 18, 184, the friend of Aesclanes there mentioned would seem to be another person. *Schœf.* n. 309, 182.

160 With disc 5 and 77, 78 upr.

πάλιν αὖ, *coram* 'as before.' Cf. Smith, *Phil.* 952, 1232.

τεραπεύμενος 'receiving the medicine.' Cf. Aesch. *E. L.* 19, τέρπειν αὐτὸν ὑπὸν αἰσῶν, τοῦ ἰατροῦ. 98, ἀνέστη καὶ ἐνέπρησεν αὐτὸν τὸν αἰσῶν ὅσον τέρπειν αὐτόν. The word is used of salubrious practices and places, implying also exhortation and rebuke. Cf. Ar. *Eq.* 696 (of Cleon), ἀνέστηπ' ἀνέπρησεν ἀπὸ τέρπεισιν αὐτοῦ, and *Nub.* 318 τέρπειν (humour). So Isocr. *Proarch.* I, τὴν τέρπειν καὶ ἀνέπρησιν αὐτοῦ.

ἱερὸν ἱδρύσαντο Πάυσανίῳ 'erected a temple in honour of Pausanias,' the accusative of Philip. Cf. Herod. i. 105, vi. 105, ἱερὸν ἱδρύσαντο Βασιλῆϊ, and so often in the passive, of the consecration of a temple to some deity, i. 172, ii. 41. The plural ἱερά (sacred objects) seems to occur only here in this sense, and perhaps comprises the whole furniture of the *ἱερόν* as given in Herod. ix. 108, ἱερά κατασκευάσαντες ἀνέστησαν καὶ θύσαντες καὶ ἄγαντες. See Valckenauer's note to Herod. vi. 19. *Lexicog. c. Lexic.* I. Phil. *Proc.* 372a. *Asiatic. Trav.* § 149. *Doct. Ant.* 1104b, 1105a. Pausanias the murderer of Philip. Grote xi. 520ff. *Phylarch* 168 (*Thes.* 229) *calls* *the* *ἱερόν* *ἱδρυμένον* καὶ *ἱερῶσαν* *ἱδρύσαντο* Πάυσανίῳ, i.e. *his* *ἱερόν*. Thirlwall, c. viii, repeats the words 'honoured that religious honours should be decreed to the memory of P.' finding a difficulty in the consecration of a dead murderer. Some of the translators have the same. 'Sacra instituit' E. and F.

eis aitian, euaggelion thesias 'Involved the Senate in the guilt (with Alexander) of offering a sacrifice for good news.' *Idem euaggelion*, cf. *Ant. Pp.* 606. *συνεφασαν euaggelion*, *ibid.* 617.

τὴν βουλὴν. The remonstrance of Phileion seems to have prevailed with the people. ἐγγράφεια πρὸς τὸν ὄμιον οὐκ ἐπὶ καὶ γὰρ ἀποτίειν οὐκ ἐπικράτει ε.τ.λ. Plut. *Phile.* 16. So, acc. to the Scholiast, Alexander addressed a letter shortly afterwards to the Achaeans, Ἀντιφάνης γὰρ ἀπὸ ὅμων χάριεν, τῇ δὲ πρὸς Ἀ. ὄμιον.

cases of breach of treaty in which the allied Greek states were interested. Schaeff. iii. 52, 3. It is possible, as Hissin suggests, that the pretext for accusing Demosthenes was his open antagonism to Philip whom the latter was acting as Amphibolyon's general. Dem. *Orat.* 322.

162 οἱ Πάραλοι. The crew of the swift sailing State-ship *Paralos*. Cf. Aelian, *Var. Hist.* iii. 6, 2. *Παραλὸν* (or *Τυρόν*) ἀφαιρῆται πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκ' Ἀθηναίων ἡ Πάραλος ἀγροῦσα Δολιχόρων καὶ Ἀγχιλαίων πρὸς δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ αἱ Πάραλοι ἐμπόρευται. Thuc. viii. 73. τοὺς Πάραλους, δολοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ καὶ ἑκατόμβους πλοῦσι ἐν τῇ ἐκπύρωσι. The *Selenitum* and *Pitalus* were kept ready for expeditionary purposes and emergencies.

Ἀριστῶν Πλαταϊκός. When Plataea was destroyed by the Thebans in 575 Athens received the refugees. Cf. Isoc. *Plataeos*. *Ἀριστῶν* is personified by Hyperbrotus 34. *Ἰπποκλῆς* κατὰ Διὸς, οἷος Σάμου μὲν ἔστιν ἡ Πλαταικὴ, καὶ Διὸς ἡ πόλις, καὶ οἷος Ἀλκίνοῦ δ' ἔστιν ἡ Δοιολίτις, συμποσὶ δ' ἐστὶν αὐτῶν τοῦς Ἱπποκλῆσιν ἑκαὶ διαλλοῦσιν, καὶ οἷος Μαρωνὶς ἐν δ' τῶν πρὸς Ἀλκίνοισιν.

εἰ—ἀρα 'ὦ μετόχων.' Cf. Isoc. *Or.* iii. 26. *Ἰσοκράτης* 136. εἰ τις ἐστὶν ἄνθρωπος οὗτος ἐστὶν πρὸς τῶν πολλῶν γνησιότητος. Herod. 6, 109, ἵνα δὲ αὐτὰ ἢ μὴ καταλαμβάνει πρὸς Ἀθηναίων παῖδας κ.τ.λ.

ἐτέρων τῶν ὅψιν διαφέρων γενόμενος. Cf. c. *Τροισίν* 75, *μετὰ τὴν ἐκ τῶν ἑτέρων διαφέρει*. One m. omits *γενόμενος*, and it is not generally struck out of the text. *Παλαιογενόμενος* ἑκατόμβης γενόμενος. For the use of *διαφέρων* and other present participles as participles adjectives after εἰ and γένεσθαι see *Grammatical* as mentioned above. *Grammatical*, M. T. § 208 *εἰ* (εἰς) which Cobet emends. *Grammatical*, M. T. 215. 5. Cf. Isoc. *Orat.* 15, *ἀφαιρῆται τοὺς μετὰ διαλλοῦσιν γνησιότητος*. Aelian, c. *Τροισίν* 134, *ἐκ τῶν πολλῶν καὶ ἀπὸ Πλαταιῶν ἐκτὸς ἐκτὸς ἐκτὸς*. The *καταλαμβάνει* *γενόμενος* does not occur in the text.

πράττων ἢ πάσχων. Cf. *Troisins*, § 41.

ὑποτρέχει *runs into the front of*. Cf. Eur. *Or.* 679, *καὶ ὑποτρέχει τὸ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν*. Isoc. 20, *καταλαμβάνει* *πρὸς* *Παλαί*. *Isoc.* 2, 223 n.

διὰ τοῦτον. Cf. Isoc. 104 n.

εἴρηται *he has happened to answer for himself*. Dem. *Leg.* 1, *Κριτ.* 1. Herod. 9, 28 *τὰς τῶν πολλῶν ἀφαιρῆται* *πρὸς* *Παλαί* *ἐκτὸς ἐκτὸς*. *τὸς τῶν πολλῶν ἀφαιρῆται*.

διαλλαγῆς. A treaty between two parties *hitherto* *hitherto*. Cf. Dem. *Or.* ii. 1. *Ἀποδοῦναι δὲ Περὶ 85.*

163 ἐκείθεν *'from what follows'*. Cf. 194. So Isoc. 59, 168.

ὡς ὁμοίον ἐστὶ... αἰτία *'how closely the fact corresponds to (and so corresponds) the accusation.'* Cf. 191. *αἰτία*, opp. to *ἐλεγχος*, accusation without proof. *αἰτία ἐστὶν, ὅταν τις φάσῃ χρηδαίμενος λόγῳ καὶ παράσχηται πίστιν ὡς λέγει*. Dem. *Anitot.* 22. Cf. *de Cor.* § 14.

τρεῖς... καιροί. The victorious career of Alexander proves *unmistakably* that not one of these three periods presented even decent compensation for a reasonable Athenian patriot to involve his country in warfare against so formidable an enemy. Nothing can be more obvious than these charges. Demosthenes does not notice them in his reply partly for this reason, still more perhaps on another ground, that it was not safe to speak out what he thought and felt about Alexander. Grote, xii. 111, 112.

εἰς μὲν ὁ πρῶτος of § 54, 61 here followed by *ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ—καὶ* *ἀφαιρῆται*, *ἀφαιρῆται* by *ἀφαιρῆται* *by* § 55.

εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν διέβη. 331 B.C. Schaeff. iii. 144, 3. Grote xi. 397 ff. *Thuc.* *Hist.* 15, *ὅσοι μακρὰ καὶ στενὰ οὗτοι ὁρῶμεθα*. *ἡκμαζε* *Grote* xi. p. 400.

βούλει σε θῶ, *τρόπῳ interrogative subjunctive, Orestes*, *Or.* 291.

οὐκ ἀναμένει *'the state's opportunity waits not for the state's cowardly intervention.'* Cf. § 54 Democ. quotes Dem. *194*, 1, 37, *ὅτι δὲ τὰς παλαιὰς αἰτίας ἀφαιρῆται καὶ τὸν ἀφαιρῆται* *μακρὰ καὶ στενὰ ἀφαιρῆται*. Cf. *Thuc.* 1, 142, 4 *τοὺς πολλοὺς αἰτίας ἀφαιρῆται* *καὶ τὸν ἀφαιρῆται*. *Thuc.* 31, 48, *πολλὰ ἀφαιρῆται* *καὶ τὸν ἀφαιρῆται*. There is a reference to the proverb *ἀφαιρῆται* *καὶ τὸν ἀφαιρῆται*, *Phil. Orat.* 421 n, where the Schol. cites a fragment of Aeschylus (90 *Philo*).

ἀλλὰ γὰρ αὐτοὺς οὐ μέγα χλευάζουσιν.

164 κατεβέβηκε. Cf. *Deipnosoph.* 133, *'had gone down to the sea'*, from *Susa* in *Susa* to *Issus* in *Cilicia*. *Polyb.* 12, 17. See the plan illustrating the battle of Issus (*p.* 353) in *Grote* xi. 148.

ἀπαλημμένος *'shut in in the passes of Cilicia.'* Cf. Xen. *An.* ii. 4, 17, *ἡ δὲ τῆς γῆρας ἀφαιρῆται ἀλλὰ ἐν μέσῳ ἀφαιρῆται* *τοῦ παλαιῦ καὶ τῆς διαγωγῆς*. *Thuc.* 5, 59, 3. Herod. 8, 109.

σύ—σοῦ *sympathetic*, *'You knew of this state of things, why did you not use the opportunity?'* *παρὰ*, § 49 n.

συμπατηθήσεσθαι. Aelian, ii. 6, 5, makes the country of *Baris* use this expression, *καταπατηθῆται τῇ ἰππῇ τῶν Μακεδόνων τῆς στρατῶν ἑλπίς ἀλλοτρεῶς ἀπὸ ἐπαλόντες ἐπέλεγον*. The

defeat of Alexander was generally expected. Cf. Joseph. *Jus.* xi. 8. 3, *ἡδὲ τῇ Δαρκων καταβολῇ ὁ Σαραπείωνος—πρῶτον γὰρ οὗκ αὐτὸς αἰσῶνς ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντες αἱ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ἀπὸ τῆς χεῖρος τοῦ Περσέως ἦσαν τοῖς Μακεδόσι διὰ τὸ πλοῦτος.*

τὴν σὴν ἀγδίαν 'give me your unpleasantness.' Thesaurus (26) gives a sketch of the character of the *δοῦλος* in which a main ingredient is boastfulness. Unbrotherly also is implied. Cf. John 11.

οὐκ ἐχώρει 'was not big enough for.' Cf. Dem. Phil. iii. 27, οὐδ' ἡ Πάρις εὖ καὶ ὡς ἀνέστης τῆς πλυσσέμεν χεῖρας ταύτης ποῦν. *Med.* 200, ἡ πλοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐλχέουσι. *Εὐαγγ. Ματθ.* 240

ὁμοίαι προσηλαθεῖν γ' αὖτις
ἀλλ' ὅταν δαίσει γαμβρὸν, ἢ χ' ὀφρυστάται
τοὺς μὲν ἀετλίους.

ὡς ἐνηρημένοι . . περιπατεῖς 'which you walked about with suspended to your minds.' The latter were tied with a string which Demosthenes put round his necks. Cf. Rom. *Phil.* iii. 19. *πορευόμενοι ὡς ἐνηρημένοι*, 'to have suspended to him.' Deimachius (*ib. loc.* § 26) repeats this, *παρ' αὐτῶν γὰρ αἱ ἀποστολαὶ ἐκ τῆς ἐκείνου ἀποστολῆς ἐντυπώσονται*. For the construction, see Goodwin, *Gr.* 244 n. 2.

Χρυσόκερων. The victim should be sacrificed and crowned and its horns were gilt. Cf. Hom. *Od.* vii. 450 (op. *ib.* 425).

χρησὶν ὁμοῖ· ὁ δ' ἵππος βλάσσειται περιχάσας
ἀνέχεται, ἵπ' ἀγαλλὰ πρὸς ἐχέοντο ἄλλοισι.

where Amici refers to Tibull. iv. 1, 15, *Serpens immigrato tauri-
culis hostis cornu*. VING. AGR. v, 206. LAV. vii. 37, and other
passages.

κατεστέφθαι 'was really proposed' in *Spartillae*. Cf. *Act. Apost.* xiii. 14. There is no occasion to read *κατεστέφθαι*. Demosthenes probably used the very words of the answer of the Pythian priestess to Philip, when consulting her about his proposed expedition against the Persian king, preserved by *Diod. Sic.* xvi. 91, *ἐστέπται μὲν ὁ ταύτης, ἔχει τιδαν, ὅτι αὐτὸς ὁ γόττω*, which Philip understood as favourable to himself: *τὸ δ' ἀσπίδης ἀρχὴν ἔχων εἶχεν, ἥλλα ταύραστ' ἔχωναι ἐν πανήγρει καὶ θύω θυσίαις τὰς Φιλίππων ὥσπερ τὰς ταύρων ἐστειμέναι ἀναγχεσθαι*. Cf. *Pausan.* viii. 7. 11. *Ovid, Met.* x. 271.

165 ὑπὲρ *see on Rom. vi. Cor. ii. 9.*

Λακεδαιμόνιοι. Under Aoi in the early part of sec. III.
§ 133, ἀσπιδόματα n. Grote XII. 105 ff. Thucyd. Sic. 17, 62 - 2.

τὸ ξενικόν. Greek mercenaries who had fled from the battle of Issus. Luc. xii. 48, κατὰ τὴν Εὐκρατίαν ἄγος ἦν τὰν ἐκ τῆς Ἰσσοῦ μάχης διαφυγόντων πολεμικῶν ἀνελόντων ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ τὴν πρᾶγματιαν ἀπολῆστο χαλκιστῶν Δαρείου.

ἐπέτυχον μάχῃ 'were successful in a battle.' We have no other information of this success. For ἐπέτυχον cf. Xen., *Hell.* 4.15, 19 ὅς τε γὰρ οὐ μάλ' αὐτὸς ἐπὶ πάλῳ ἐπέτυχεν. *Idem.*

τοὺς περὶ Κόρραιον. A Macedonian of this name is mentioned in *Plutarch* (17, 106) and *Aelian V. II.* 10, 22, as a man of extraordinary strength, but not in connection with this war, and perhaps they are different persons.

συμμετεβάλοντο *sympetebalon to*, i.e. they joined Spain to which they had been opposed before.

ἔξω τῆς ἀρκτοῦ οἰκουμένης that is, beyond the bounds of the habitable world as conceived by the Greeks. The place 'beyond the bar' must not be pressed. Asia was conceived as occupying the N.E. quarter of the world, the extent to the N. being unknown. See Polyb. 3, 38—38. Alexander was in Bactria.

ὥς ἂν εἴπῃς 'until you shall have said it.' This is equivalent to the offer of giving up part of the speaker's time (*ὥς ἂν εἴπῃς* 1 Cor. 14: 30), an offer only meant *ad negotium*.

166 ἀ...ἀκρωόμενοι; a rhetorical question takes the place of the ordinary *apodosis*. See Bern. de *clar.* §§ 126, 294.

σιδηρεσι 'to men of iron!' sarcastic; 'you must have had nerves of steel to stand out against his big blustering words.' This seems better than to suppose it to mean 'cold,' 'unimpassioned.' The word is rare in a metaphorical sense. In *Lucius* 10 § 20 it means 'stupid,' in *Plutarch's* *Cicero*, 26 'unimpassioned,' 'disinclined.' The rule in *Attic* is to attract these adjectives, and Cobet and Brucke accordingly read *σιδηρεσι* and are followed by Weidner and Susex. But the mss. here are unanimous, and it seems better on the whole to follow them.

ἔφη παρελθὼν no such members exist in any of the extant works of Demosthenes, who, though not denying their use (*de Cor.* 126, 232), seems to imply some exaggeration on the part of Aeschines. For παρελθὼν of orators 'coming forward to speak' cf. Demosth. *de Cor.* § 22.

ἀμπελουργοῦσι τὴν πόλιν 'treat the city as vine-dressers do vines.' The following phrases are quoted by Aeschines without any context, as certain indications expressions employed by Demosthenes in this harangue. There is no necessary connexion between them, though the two first are drawn from the same source, i.e. vine-dressing. ἀνατετμήκασι 'have cut back,' 'pruned.'

ὑποτέμνεται 'have been traitorously cut,' the metaphor seems to be from the hamstringing of a horse or other animal. For τὰ νύτρα τῶν πραγμάτων 'the sinews of the state,' cp. a line of Epicurians, twice quoted by Polybius (18. 40; 31. 21) νύτρε καὶ ἀκίνητ' ἀπώστη· ἀλλὰ ταῦτα τῶν φρονέων. Fronti quotes Cicero c. *Calpurnia* § 91 *penitus artus imperii dissoluti nullum ipsam solutum et deorsum tendunt*. Fronti 2, 234 *sed et hoc est quod non potest esse legatum, et hoc est quod non potest esse legatum*. Cp. 'money the sinews of war.'

φορμορραφούμεθα If Demosthenes ever did use this word it was perhaps a fair subject of ridicule. *φορμος* is a wicker basket used principally for corn (Elysus 22 § 5). *φορμορραφούμεθα* must mean to 'sew' or 'stitch' such a basket. *φορμορραφούμεθα* 'to be nibbled with holes like a basket as it is sown.' The metaphor of the next sentence, ἐπὶ τὰ στενά τινες ὥσπερ τὰς βελόνας διέρουσι 'are drawing us like needles into narrow places' [or, as others, 'our tips are being sewn up,' Demosth. 2, § 21 *τὰ στενά τινες ὥσπερ τὰς βελόνας διέρουσι*], seems to be connected with the same thing, but it is hard to believe that it is not corrupt, and to explain it on any rational plan. *Sch.* ἐπὶ τὰ στενά τινες ὥσπερ τὰς βελόνας διέρουσι 'certain persons are as it were threading their needles to begin upon our friends,' 'they are preparing to be at us,' 'to nibble us.' In this case *πρῶτον* of the ms. might stand—'as a preparatory measure.' Cp. Cicero 2 *Phil.* § 86 *Num respectus dūm te stimulis munitur?* The metaphor is a harsh, not to say absurd one, but that is what Aeschines is attacking Demosthenes for.]

167 ταῦτα δὲ ῥήματα ἢ θαύματα 'are we to call these phrases or mere gasconades?' *Sch.* ἀπὸ τῶν παραδοξολογημάτων *τετρατῶδη* 'mere blarney meant to frighten us.' Cp. § 100.

κίναδος cp. Dem. *de Cor.* §§ 127, 162, 242.

κύκλῳ περιδινῶν 'twisting yourself about.' For those extravagances in action on the part of speakers, see Fronton *Nat. c. 8*; and Demosthenes' reply to these attacks, *πρὸς τὰ ῥήματα πλάττων καὶ ῥήματα καὶ σχήματα μνημονεύεις, de Cor.* § 232.

τὰ Λακωνικά the rising in Sparta under Agis § 165.

ἀφιστάναι 'caused them to revolt' from Alexander. Cp. § 256 ἀποστῆναι *Alexandrius*.

σὺ γὰρ very emphatic. 'You cause a single village to revolt!'

μὴ ὅτι, 'not only;' probably, 'do not (say) that,' = 'it is not enough to say that.' Hadley, *Gr. Gr.* 1033 a.

προσκαθήσει, 'you will sit watching the contest' like a third combatant (*ἐφεδρος*) ready to engage with the winner. So, of watching for one's own advantage, Dem. *de pseud. Is.* 15 τοῖς δ' ἀγαθῶν ἐφεδρῶν ἕτερος καθέδεται. Cf. Soph. *Aj.* 600. The metaphor is from the Palaestra, Dem. *Phil.* i. 5. Aeschines does not mean to reproach Demosthenes merely with doing nothing, but with 'wishing to wound but yet afraid to strike,' of watching for his opportunity when money is going with a malevolent neutrality. [Simcox adapts *προσκαθίσαι* with one sit., but this form seems not to have been used intransitively in Attic. See Eutherford *New Phrynologia* p. 337.]

The termination -αι has some slight ms. authority here and in E. L. 117, and is, no doubt, purer Attic. It is everywhere restored by the editors as in the following *πρᾶξι* and *infr.* 210, 219, 242, though the mss. give the later form in -η. Cobet, vii. p. 144.

αὐτόματον sc. without any action of yours.

συμβῆ, in a good sense, *si quid contigerit*.

ἐπιγράψαι, see § 159 n.

168-176 Conclusion of the third and main division of the argument which commenced § 53. A 'locus communis': characteristics of the *ἀρχὴ δημοκρατίας*—Demosthenes does not possess the qualities indispensable for a democratic leader (Volkstribun). Compare the answering description, from Demosthenes' point of view, *de Cor.* 122.

168 ναί, ἀλλὰ 'yes, but.' Particles introducing an objection, cp. §§ 25 n. 84. Cf. *εἰ δ' ἀλλὰ* Dem. *de Cor.* 117, and 251.

πρὸς—εἰς. The choice of preposition may be for variety. Cobet and Weidner read as *ἐφ' ὁφθαλμοῖς* with two mss. *εὐφρημά* *πρὸς συναίτην*, Eunius ap. Cic. *Brut.* 28, 'pleasantness of sound.'

ἀποβλέπῃτε 'if you regard exclusively.' See Dem. *de Cor.* § 210.

ἐκείνως, cp. §§ 59 n. 163 n. 195.

λόγον ἀπολάβετε 'demand an account' as due. Cf. *ἀπαίτημα*, *ἀποδοῦναι* etc. §§ 27, 58 n.

ὀλιγαρχικόν. A common term of reproach in the mouth of the *δημογῶγος*. Frontonius, *Legat.* xlv. 11.

φαῖλον. Atheniopolitan *δρακοντίας*, ne dicam *ἐχνοκρατίας*, *simulacris* *similis*, *ὀλιγαρχικός* et *φαῖλος* idem erat. Fr. *σάφρων* and *φῶλος* are here the antithesis: the good sober-minded citizen, and the vulgar disloyal agitator.

μη' ὁποτέρου... ἐστίν 'to which of the two patterns his life, not his language corresponds.'

169 τῷ δημοτικῷ. Schol. δημοτικός: ἄνθρωπος τῷ δέμῳ, τῷ πρὸς... μητρὸς 'free-born both on his father's and mother's side. This was of great importance in the eyes of the Athenians, and various laws had been passed on the subject; but to enforce it was in fact to prevent mixed marriages, which was in practice found impossible. A child was enrolled in the phratry of his father in his first year (Isae. 8, 19; Aristoc. Myst. 125), but if his father was a non-citizen it had become the practice to enrol him in the phratry of his maternal grandfather. Pericles, about B.C. 444, had enforced the regulation of both parents being citizens, and had thereby caused 5000 citizens to be struck off the roll. But if the father was a citizen it was difficult to prevent the child from being enrolled on the ground of his mother's extraction; and we know from Aristophanes how frequent the reproach against leading citizens that they were not true-born Athenians was (see for instance Arist. Jr. 1669; *Ran.* 117, and the epithet Παφλαγέας applied to Cleon). In B.C. 403 fresh legislation was introduced enforcing the condition of both parents being citizens (Dem. 1307; Grote viii. p. 110). But the practice seems to have always been loose, in spite of the law. The possibility of reproaching Demosthenes on this point shews how far-reaching this feeling was. His father was an Athenian, and his mother was the daughter of an Athenian also, Gylon. But Gylon had settled in the Crimea and married a wife of that country, and therefore Demosthenes had foreign blood in his veins. Schaefer i. p. 262 E.

τοῖς νόμοις, i.e. especially the laws regulating the conditions of citizenship.

ἀπὸ... ὑπάρχειν 'that he should have some patriotic service on the part of his ancestors to go upon.' The word is here used generally, but εὐεργεσία and εὐεργέτης were technical terms formally used by states and carrying certain privileges. See Xen. *Vect.* 3, 11; Demosth. *Lept.* § 39; *F. L.* § 350; Xen. *Hellen.* 1, 1, 26 where the title is given to the Syracusans by the people of Antandros. Xen. *de civ. Ath.* 3, 11.

τό γ' ἀναγκαιότατον 'at the very least.'

βοηθῶν 'by way of supporting,' 'to cover.' Cp. Aristoph. 125 μήτε βοηθῶντες τὰς τούτων ἀτυχίας ἐναντία τοῦ δαίμονος γινώσκουσι.

ἀτυχήματα is an euphemism for ἀτυχεῖα, cf. *συμφορά* in this sense. Dem. *Mid.* § 58.

170 μέτριον 'respectable.' Dem. *de Cor.* § 10. The word expresses the Greek dislike of anything extreme or out of the

life or character,—the preference of Nicias to Alcibiades. Cp. ὅτε τὸ λῆαν ἔσσαν (παῖδά τοι ἀπὸν ἄγαν καὶ ξιμώσσοι σοφοὶ μοι (Eur. *Hipp.* 265). τὰν μετρώων τὸν νόμον κακὰ (Eur. *Med.* 125). εἴη μοι ἡ μετρεῖα (Eur. *Ion* 632).

ἀσέλγειαν 'extravagance.' Cp. (Dem.) *in Nicias*. § 30, ἀσέλγως καὶ πολυτελεῖς δαίμοντα τὸν βίον.

κατὰ τοῦ δήμου 'against the interests of the people.'

εὐγνώμονα 'right minded.' Cp. Dem. *in Tim.* 137, εὐγνώμων εὐχερ. (Dem.) *Hipp.* 3, § 43, εὐχόμενοι μὲν ὡς εὐγνώμονες τῶν (ἡμετέρων) τευχέρεσσιν, φέρονται δὲ τοῖς ὅπασιν εὐμένεσσιν.

καλὸν... προαιρεῖσθαι... πείθειν 'for it is a good thing that an orator's intellect should be such as to adopt the best line of policy, and his hearing and eloquence to carry his hearers with him.' The *ἀρετή* is that of an εὐγνώμων. As εὐγνώμων the orator will take the right view in politics, as *ἀνταρτος* εἰπέτω he will cause his views to prevail. Others, among whom is Socrates, take *δαίμον* and *παῖδες* and *λόγον* as accusatives of respect after *καλόν*. I think the genitive τοῦ λόγου is decisive against this. *παῖδες* and *λόγον* are an hendiadys for περὶ παιδερμένων λόγον 'style that has been formed by training.' For προαίρεσις 'deliberate choice,' applied to policy, cp. Dem. *de Cor.* § 93, ἡ ἐμὲ προαίρεσις καὶ πολιτεία.

εἰ δὲ μή... λόγου 'but in any case we must prefer soundness of view to mere eloquence.'

ἀνδρείον. For the sentiment we may refer to Dr Johnson's dictum as to *courage*: "You know, Sir, that courage is reckoned the greatest of all virtues; because, unless a man has that virtue, he has no security for preserving any other" (Boswell, ch. ix.).

παρὰ τὰ δεινὰ 'in the hour of danger.' Dem. *de Cor.* 239, παρὰ τοῖς παρόντας κακοῖς.

τὸν δ' ὀλιγαρχικόν. In democratic Athens the true δημοτικός represents the man of sound sense and moderation, the ὀλιγαρχικός is the innovator and the turbulent politician. The contrast is here drawn sharply between the two characters as radically different, contrary to the view put forward by the speaker in Lysias 25 § 8, who maintains that no man is democratical or oligarchical by nature, but only from the consideration as to which form of government best suits his interests.

σκέψασθε δὲ 'well then, examine and see.' δὲ often sums up a series of considerations, dismissing one part of the subject. Cp. Demosth. *Lept.* § 196, σκεψάμεθα δὲ τὰς... εἰσποαίει χορηγίας.

ἐπὶ πᾶσι δικαίοις 'with entire fairness,' lit. on conditions

1172, *ὅτι μὲν γὰρ ἴδεν ἐπὶ πρῶτον ἰ. ἀποστὰς ἀντιλογίας, καὶ ταῦτο τοῦ περὶ φθόνου.* Plut. 312, *ὅθεν ἐπεχόμενον γὰρ πρῶτα ἐργάζεται.*

173 *ἐκ τριηράρχου* 'from being a trierarch.' Demosthenes (*de Cor.* 257) says that he served a trierarchy directly he came of age. For the use of *ἐκ* cp. Dem. *de Cor.* § 131, *ἐκ δούλου καὶ πλοῦσιος ἐκ πτωχοῦ.*

Λογογράφος 'a speech-writer,' one who composed speeches for others to deliver, especially in the law courts. There seems always to have attached to this profession a certain amount of discredit; which gives point to the use of the word as applied to Demosthenes. The earliest to practise the art was Antiphon (*Thucyd.* 8, 68). See Dr Thompson, *Introduction to Plato Phaedrus*, p. xxvii. The prejudice against the profession and name may perhaps be compared to that which used to attach to the word *Attorney*. "I do not care," said Dr Johnson, "to speak ill of any man behind his back, but I believe the gentleman is an attorney."

ἀνεφάνη 'he suddenly came forward as,' *repente prodit*, Cp. § 81. Lysias 14 § 11.

τὰ πατρῶα καταγέλᾳστως προέμενος 'having allowed your patrimony to slip through your hands in a ridiculous fashion.' Cf. Dem. 2 *Olynth.* § 2, *π. Λυσίου καὶ τόπων ὡς ἦεν παρὰ λόγους φαίνεσθαι προέμενος.* He refers to the well known suit against the orator's guardians, Aphobus and Demophilus. How much of his property he ever recovered is not known. "It can," says Mr Batcher (*Demosthenes* p. 29), "have been but a remnant of his patrimony, enough to secure him a competence and no more." The action was begun when Demosthenes was twenty, B.C. 363. Breme says of *καταγέλᾳστος* i.e. *ἀσέλγης* *per voluptates libidinosas*. But is it not rather an unfeeling jest at his ill success in trying to get back his property from the hands of his guardians? *προέμενος* supports this, meaning rather the 'letting a thing get into the hands of an opponent' than 'squandering.'

καὶ περὶ ταῦτα 'even in this poor profession.'

λόγους ἐκφέρων τοῖς ἀντιδίκοις 'betraying the arguments to be used to the opposite parties in the suit.' The clause may be taken as depending on *ὅς τις εἶαι* or as in apposition to it. It would be unusual to find a participle in the former construction, and the latter makes good sense, 'But being universally believed to be untrustworthy even in this business (of *λογογράφος*), and betraying the arguments to be used for his client.' The ground for the charge given in II. § 176 is the conduct of Demosthenes in the case of Phormio, for whom Demosthenes wrote a speech

in defence against the action of his late master's son, Apollodorus; and subsequently wrote a speech for the same Apollodorus against Stephanus for perjury committed in the same case in favour of Phormio. Plutarch (*Dem.* c. 15) saw no harm in it, saying that 'it was like selling two swords from the same workshop to be used on opposite sides.' A modern barrister might perhaps accept a brief on opposite sides; but the use of knowledge obtained from one side in favour of the other would I suppose be a breach of professional honour; and Aeschines, putting the worst interpretation on the business, would insinuate that Demosthenes did that. The Attic *logographos* however was in a different position to the modern barrister. He did not appear in court, he was not an adviser. He merely wrote a speech on facts supplied him, and had no overt personal responsibility. Yet the authorship of the speech was generally known, and many points of delicacy must have arisen in connection with such double advocacy. See Mahaffy's *Greek Literature*, Vol. II. p. 336. Blass, p. 412.

ἀνεπήδησεν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα 'he suddenly made his appearance on the public platform.' That is, he took to make speeches on public matters before the ecclesia in his own person. The same idea of assumption is given by the word *ἀνεπήδησε* as by *ἀνεφάνη*. The order of events is against the malicious insinuation of Aeschines, that Demosthenes began his public speaking in the ecclesia after losing credit as a *logographos* in the case of Phormio (B.C. 350). The speech against Stephanus was in B.C. 349-8; and in B.C. 354 he had delivered the speech against *Leptines*, which though not spoken in the deliberative ecclesia was a political speech; and in the same year first appeared on the Bema with his speech on the *Symmetries*. The speech on the *Measurings* (353 B.C.) and the 1st *Philippic* and *for the Iliadans* (351 B.C.) also preceded this case.

τὸ βῆμα, see note on § 34.

ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, sc. from his political career. Thus Nicias' kinsman Hiero says of him (*Trin. Nic.* 5) *φίλος προσαποβέ-
δνκε τοῖς χρέμασι πολιτικῶν, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι καὶ φιλοὺς κτώμενοι
καὶ πλοῦσι, ἀπὸ τοῦ βουατος ἐπαθόντι.* Weidner reads *πολιτικῶν* with two of Bekker's mss. For the various sources of profit to an active politician at Athens see note on *τὸ βασιλικόν* below; and cp. Dem. *de Cor.* §§ 103, 209. Dem. *in Dem.* 42.

ἐλάχιστα περιποιήσατο 'he really secured a very small balance for himself.' Aeschines means to charge Demosthenes with a crime within a crime,—rapacity in regard to taking public money, and foolish extravagance in squandering it.

τὸ βασιλικόν, *ἐπικέκλυκε* 'the money he has received from

the king of Persia has flooded his extravagance,' 'has washed away all traces of it.' See Hypocrit. *in Dem.* col. xxiii., καὶ Δημοσθένη καὶ Δαρείον ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει φερούμενων καὶ προφερανόντων πλέον ἢ ἑκατότα τάλαντα ἐκείνων εἰσπραξάντων, ἔξω τῶν βασιλικῶν καὶ τῶν παρ' Ἀλεξανδρῶν. The king of Persia, Darius Codomanus, was naturally desirous to maintain an organized opposition to Philip and Alexander in Greece, as likely to prevent the threatened invasion of his own dominions. See § 210. Demarch. *in Dem.* 18, and 70. Diodor. xvi. 4.

οὐδὲς . . . περιεγένετο 'no wealth ever yet survived calamity',
Cic. 2 *Phil.* § 65, *ut est apud poetam nemo quem 'male posita
male dēlabuntur.'*

πονηροῦ. *Schol.* ἀπά-τοι, *παραπαι.* τὸ κεφάλαιον οὖτως τὰ μέγιστον ἀδικησα. *Schol.* 'to sup. all.'

τὸν βίον 'his livelihood.'

174 εὐγνωμοσύνην, see εὐγνωσταί § 170.

δεινὸς...κακός. Some mss. have δεινὸς κακός. For construction of adj. and infinitive see Mady. § 147.

ὥστ' ἐμὲ μὴ βούλεσθαι... πέπρακται. Cr. § 162. If you a common rhetorical artifice to pretend that the opponent's actions had been too bad for the speaker to mention. It is a particularly flagrant use of it on this occasion after the final insinuations of the preceding sentences. But Demosthenes does the same, see *de Cor.* §§ 129, 264; and Cicero imitates them both, see 2 *Phil.* § 47, *sunt quidam, quare honeste non possum dicere: tu autem eo liberior, quod ea in te admittisti quae a me cum digno crimine auditu non possem.* That such insinuations should be freely bandied between two men of the position of Aeschines and Demosthenes in open court indicates indeed a depraved taste and tone in society, and probably great corruption also; but we should, I think, be thoroughly sceptical as to their exciting any real belief in the vicious practices of either orator. See some weighty remarks on this subject by H. A. J. Munro, *Catullus*, p. 75 sq.

ἦδη γὰρ . . . σαφῶς λέγοντας. The Greek sentiment was in favour of casting a decent veil over all that was unpleasant. So the nurse says to Phaedra (Eurip. *Hipp.* 465) *ἐν ἀναιδέϊ γὰρ τῷ ἔστι θέναι, λυσιτέλει δὲ μὴ καλῶ*. ἦδη ποτε εἶδον 'I have frequently observed,' 'this is not the first time I have noticed,' 'for I have frequently noticed.' Eurip. *Hipp.* 375 *ὅς τις ποτὶ ἄλλας νύκτας ἐν αἰσῶ χροῖται ἐνδοκίμῳ κ.τ.λ.* The special reference may be to the reception of his speech against Timarchus.

ἔπειτα τί συμβαίνει τῇ πόλει: "and further, what is the next

result to the state?', i.e. of a skilful orator who is an immoral man. The answer is, 'fair words but foul deeds.'

175 βραχὺς· λείπεται 'I need not waste many words by way of proving his cowardice.' See on § 152. Cp. Demarch. in *Thom.* § 12, "ὅτι παρὰ τὰς πύργους εἰς Ναυπύκτου." οὐκ, ἀλλ' ἔλατ' αὐτοὺς τὰς εἰλ' εἰσεῖν. Ortolan xi. p. 306 maintains that the confidence reposed in Demosthenes immediately after the battle is decisive proof that they did not believe at the time that he had displayed cowardice. A surely the taunts of an opponent of eight years afterwards cannot be accepted with any confidence. Demosthenes certainly shared in the defeat with his countrymen: but there is no good reason to believe that he behaved worse than the rest. In the *F. L.* § 206 Demosthenes says that his enemies called him *δολῶν*, but he called himself *εὐδαίμων*.

ἤρνεϊτο μὴ εἶναι. (C. 3. 2. 11, 6.)

διατριβὴν 'a cause for dwelling upon it,' some expenditure of time.'

αὐτὸς ὁμολογεῖ. *Asselinos et present: Deamo-ethione* (2 g 10%)
 αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τῇ ἐξέτασιν μαλακὸς εἶναι.

ὑπομνήσαι 'to read to your minds,' 'to mention,' the second accusative omitted. Cf. *Dein. in Steph.* i. § 85, ὑπομνήσας τα αὐτοῖς νομίζω ὅτι ὑμεῖς ἀκούετε ἡμῶν, with *Id. in Tim.* § 15, ἀναγὰν ποιῶντες τοῖς ἀκούοις ὑπομνήσαι, *ibid.*

Σόλων, $\text{sec } \sigma_1 \approx 2$.

ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἀνέχεσθαι 'to be liable to the same penalty'. Cp. Dem. in *Measur.* § 37 (a new), καὶ αἱ πρὸς τὴν ἀνακρίσιν τὰς τῶν ἡμετέρων νόμους. Sometimes without ἐν, Aesch. *Myr.* § 44, αἱ δὲ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐκείνου ἐν ἀντιφύμῳ ὑπερπαύμενοι. Lys. 1 § 18, αὐτοῖς τούτοις ἀνέχουσιν. So 1 § 13, ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐπιτίμῃς.

τὸν ἀσπράτειτον, δειλόν. These soldiers were all included under a γένος ἀσπράτειται and were thus distinguished: (1) not appearing in the army when put in the list (ἀσπράται); (2) not appearing in the particular part of the army (cavalry or infantry) to which he was assigned (ἀσπράται); (3) falling to the rear on the advance of the enemy (δραὸν or ἀσπράται δαίλιος δειλαί); (4) throwing away the shield (τὸ δῖον τῆς ἀσπίδος). The tactical phase before a parcel of ἀσπράται presided over by the strategoi, and the penalty was δάμασι without confiscation of property (Andoc. 1, § 74). See Lycurg. xiv, §§ 5, 11. Andoc. de Alkest. § 74 reckons among the δάμασι such persons—ἀσπράται λιποῦσι τῆς τάξης ἢ ἀσπράταισι ἢ δαίλιος ἢ ἀσπράται δαίλιος ἢ τῆς ἀσπίδος ἀπώλυσαν. Cp. 1, § 29. Pollux s. 1. Schömann, Attische Process p. 462 (ed. 1887).

εἰς καὶ δειλίας γραφαί 'for cowardice also is indictable.' See previous note. The specific offences were named as above, though they were also spoken of generally as δειλία, and the whole process often as γραφή ἀποσταθίου. Bake omitted the words, and is followed by Weidner.

φύσεως 'a natural quality,' 'a weakness of nature,' such that a man had no control over it. *φύσιν μάχεται οὐκ ἐπινοῶν ἔστι* (Dem. *Timocr.* § 56). 'Yes,' says Aeschines, 'the law provides against this by giving the man something that he may fear more than the enemy.' Cp. what Polybius says of the Roman soldiers (6, 37), 'it sometimes happens that men confront certain death at their stations, because, from their fear of the punishment awaiting them at home, they refuse to quit their post.'

ὑπάρχει 'be always ready,' so that the country can reckon on them.

176 ἔξω τῶν περιρραντηρίων τῆς ἀγορᾶς 'outside the part of the agora purified by the blood or holy lustral water,' and consequently outside those who shared in the religious rites at the beginning of an assembly, and were able therefore to take part in it § 224. περιρραντήρια are properly the 'vessels for sprinkling.' They are mentioned as among the necessary implements for sacrifices. Pollux 1, 32; Lucian *de Sacrif.* § 12. They appear to have been so placed in the ἀγορά (originally the place of assembly, and here used to indicate it, though the assemblies were now in the Pryx) as to mark out the space consecrated. In I § 21 the law instructing persons guilty of certain immoralties orders among other things ἀπὸ ἑκτὸς τῆς ἀγορᾶς τῶν περιρραντηρίων πορεύεσθαι. Cp. Lucian l.c. § 13, καὶ τὸ περιρραντικὸν φρενὶ μὴ παύεσθαι ἐς τὸ εἶσω τῶν περιρραντηρίων ὅστις μὴ καθάως ἔστι τὰς χειρᾶς. Arist. *Pol.* 11, πρὸς ἐς τὸ περιρραντικὸν πᾶσι ὡς ἂν ἑκτὸς ᾖ τοῦ καθάρματος. Cp. also Aesch. I § 23, ἐπειδὴν τὸ καθάρματι περιρραχθῇ καὶ ἡ κηρὶς τὰς πατρίδας εἶχαι εἴσεται. The note of the Schol. is περιρραντήρια ἔστιν αὖν τὰ ἕδρατα πρὸ τῶν ἱερῶν, ἐν αἷς περιρραίνονται οἱ ἀλλοτρίους ἐπιδεῖν τοῖς ἱεροῖς πρὸ τοῦ εἰσελθεῖν τὰ δὲ τῆς ἐκκλησίας περιρραντήρια τὰ καθάρματα τὰ ἐκ τοῦ περὶ τοῦ λαοῦ γινόμενα. The περὶ τὰ means a priest offered on these occasions; after which certain business to an. Dem. in *Timocr.* § 21, πρῶτον μετὰ τὰ ἱερά. Schol. on Arist. *Pol.* 11; *Dict. of Antiq.* s.v. ἐκκλησία. [Brenä says of περιρραντήρια sicut cancelli (barriers) intra quos tantum ātque intra locabat; but there does not seem any authority for this meaning of the word, although no doubt ἔξω τ. π. came to mean 'outside the consecrated space' however marked off.]

εἰσιέναι εἰς τὰ ἱερά τὰ δημοτελῆ 'to join in the national sacrifices,' or, 'to enter the national temples.' Cp. I § 21 καὶ

εἰς τὰ δημοτελῆ ἱερά εἰσιτω. Harpocration distinguishes between ἱερά δημοτικά, δημοσιὰ, ἀρχιερεῖα, and γένεα. The first are those offerings given by the whole state, the second by the members of a deme, the third by the ἀρχιερεῖς or official priests of the demes attached to particular worship, and the last by γένεα or clans.

τὸν ἀστεφάνωτον ἐκ τῶν νόμων 'one who in accordance with the laws is ineligible of receiving a crown.'

εἰσκαλεῖς 'you are for summoning.' Aeschines speaks of the προαυλισμὸς of Ctesiphon as if it were the voice of the ἀρχὴ actually calling Demosthenes into the theatre.

τοῖς τραγωδοῖς 'at the time of the acting of the tragedies.' See Demosthen. *de Cor.* § 54. Aeschines I § 158.

τὸν τὰ ἱερά προδεδωκότα. He probably means only generally that the cowardice of Demosthenes had left the temples at the mercy of the enemy. See on § 156. It would be too far-fetched an allusion to refer this to the abandonment of the prosecution of Alcibiades for impiety.

τῆς ὑποθέσεως 'the main subject of my speech,' viz. the illegality of Ctesiphon's proposal.

§§ 177-187 Leaving the question of the character of Demosthenes, Aeschines tries to show that it is inadvisable to make the distinction of a gold crown too common, or a matter of personal favour (177-180); it was not the way in old times. — Themistocles, Miltiades, Aristides had no crown, and Demosthenes is not worthy to be named in the same day as those men (181-2); the victors on the Strymon were only allowed to set up Herme without their names inscribed (183-185); the picture in the στήα πρὸς τὴν μάχην of the battle of Marathon does not contain the name of Miltiades, though it has his portrait (186); while the heroes of Phyle had but a small amount of money and a crown of leaves (187).

177 ἕως ἔτι μέμνημαι 'before I forget it.' Though Aeschines probably spoke more or less *ex tempore*, or at least with less preparation than Demosthenes, this speech must have been in hand for a long time, and the pretence of speaking 'before he forget' can only be sincere as far as the order goes. Cp. §§ 57, 176.

καταλύσετε 'put a stop to.' εἰκῇ διδομένους 'given promiscuously,' 'at random.'

ἐπανορθωθήσεται 'restored to their former state of prosperity.'

οὐ μὴ ποιήσετε 'you will certainly not make.' The emphatic negative οὐ μὴ (as opposed to its use in prohibitions)

more commonly has the subjunctive, in the second person especially; see however Soph. *O. C.* 848, *ὥς αὖτε ἀνὰ διὰ ποταμῶν*. Goodwin, *M. and T.* § 59. Madv. § 124 a R. 3. Hudob. § 1032.

ἐμβαλεῖτε, Sch. διότι ὁρῶντες αὐτοὺς ἐξ ἴσου τοῖς πολλοῖς τιμωμένοις.

178 ἐπὶ τῶν νυνὶ καιρῶν 'in the present generation.' ἐπὶ in this sense nearly always has the genitive of person, ἐπὶ Κίμωνι, ἐπὶ ἐμοί and the like, and of νυνὶ καιρῶν must stand for 'the men of the present day.' In the contrast which follows between the present and past state of Athens it was easy enough to show that Athens had been more powerful 100 years before; and the usual glamour of distance might make the contrast between Demosthenes and the old heroes effective; nor does it seem to have occurred to Demosthenes in his answer (*de Cor.* § 314—317) to have pointed out that two of the three heroes here mentioned died in disgrace with their country. He only pleads that the envy which ever attends the great living makes it unfair to contrast them with the great dead, and claims to be compared with men of his own day.

νυνὶ δὲ πολλῶ καταδέεστέροι 'but nowadays falling far more short of reputation.' The belief in the degeneracy of mankind, never very sincere perhaps, pervades all literature from Homer downwards; and seems founded partly on reminiscence, partly on an uneasy feeling that we are not such fine fellows as we want to be thought, 'to vex the boast so often made, that we are wiser than our sires.' (See, for instance, Homer *Il.* 6, 304; 12, 383; 20, 287; Ecclesiastes vii. 10; Virgil *Aen.* 12, 800; Juvenal 16, 65.) Aeschines makes skilful use of this feeling.

τὰ καλὰ if it stands must mean 'the marks of beauty,' but it is a very unusual meaning. Cp. § 260, παιδεία ἡ διαγεωγμένη τὰ καλὰ καὶ τὰ αἰσχρά: 1 § 160, φιλοτιμία ἐν τοῖς καλοῖς. Macdonald accordingly conjectured τὰ ἀγαθὰ and Wendt τὰ γενναῖα. But just as ἀρετή sometimes stands for the result of excellence, i.e. fame, reward (*Thucyd.* 1, 33, 2; Pind. *Olymp.* 7, 194; *Isth.* 1, 58; *Theocrit.* 17, 137), so it is difficult to say that τὰ καλὰ 'virtuous things' or 'virtue' may not stand for the results or rewards of virtue.

καταπέπλυται 'has been brought into utter confusion.' Schol. καθήρηται, ὁρμήθη, κατασφραγίσθη. The πόντος πλύνει is used in the sense of 'washing,' 'violently attacking.' Demosthenes in *Timost.* § 11, ἀλλήλους δὲ πλοκαῖνας καὶ ὁ τῶν λόγων κρηττόντες ἀρετῇ. (Demosthenes) *adv. Theocrit.* § 40, ἀνδραγαθίας καὶ πλοκαῖνας αἰτίας τῆς ἀρετῆς. Arist. *de haer.* 381, ἐκκαταλύει ἀπλύνει. Pollux 7, 38. The metaphor is said to be from the beating of clothes at the wash; here it would seem equally to

the point to take it from washing out a colour. Note the intensive force of κατὰ in composition.

ἐξ ἑθους 'as a matter of course,' 'habitual,' opp. to ἐκ προνοίας 'deliberately.' See Wayte's Introduction to Demosthenes *Androt.* p. xxi. 'The crown must have been of altogether insignificant value, apart from the fact that there were 500 claimants: but, like a modern 'vote of thanks,' it was taken as a matter of course, and the omission of it would be a marked slight.' See Dem. *L. L.* § 35. The phrase ἐκ προνοίας generally occurs with ἀρετῶν or the like in a bad sense 'of unwise forethought.'

179 διδάσκειν 'to explain it to you,' or 'to convince you of it.' The following clauses are rather an explanation of an acknowledged fact than a proof.

ἐπασκεῖν εἰς τὰ Ὀλύμπια 'to train for the Olympic games.' This verb is generally followed by the accusative, see § 255. L. and Sc. quote Aeschines *adv. Athen.* 418 a, πᾶσαν ἐπασκεῖν εἰς ἐπαγώνων τιμῶν. Athletes were refused admission to the contests unless trained, see Polyb. 6, 47.

τῶν στεφανιτῶν distinguished from those games where other prizes, such as a χλαμύς, were given. Cp. Her. 5, 102 ἀγῶνες στεφανοφόροι. The four Great Games are ἐστεφανοῦνται.

τέσσαρες εἰναι ἀγῶνες ἐν Ἑλλάδι, τέσσαρες ἱμάς, οἱ δὲ οὐκ αἰσχροί, οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἀναστάτοι.

Ζηρῶν, Λακεδῶν, Πάλαμπος, Ἀρχαῖος.

ὄρεα δὲ τῶν ἀγῶνων, μέλα, στεῖρα, πίττα.

The ἱμάς μέλας δαρεῖν, said by Demosthenes (*L. L.* § 141) to be given to the victors, are those given by their own grateful cities, not by the managers of the games.

παγκράτιον consisted of both wrestling (πύλη) and boxing (πυγμαχία); with these were reckoned βαρὺς (βαρυτέρων τι) as also the ἀγῶνες in the Pentathlon.

τῷ διαπραξαμένῳ 'to the man who successfully intrigued for it.' Cp. § 22, διαπραξάμενος ἀνταγορεύει.

οὐδὲς ἀν. Could would omit the clause.

180 νῦν δὲ 'but as it is,' as the games are actually administered.

παρακατάθμενοι, Schol. ἀποκαταστήσαντες τοὺς πόδας 'resting their bodies to toil.' Suidas explains on the other hand 'trusting their bodies to the judges.' The latter appears to me to give the better explanation. Feeling confident of the value of the award they are willing to run the risk, entrusting

their bodies so to speak to the judges, and submitting to the most painful labours, on the faith that they will receive fair treatment. For the word ep. Herod. 3, 59 τῇ νήσῳ Τροζοῖσις παρακατέδοτο 'they entrusted the island to the charge of the Troezenians.' Casti would however read παραθέσθαι, quoting Homer *Od.* 2, 237, σφας παραθέσθαι σφαλῆς. 3, 75, ψυχὰς παραθεύειν 'risking.'

ἀγωνοθέτας. The *agōnothētai* (properly 'founders of games') were a committee of judges appointed by the people who had the charge of the various games, as the Eleans at the Olympic games, the Corinthians at the Isthmian, the Ampholyeans at the Pythian, and the Argives, Corinthians and Cleonaeans at the Nemean. The privilege of thus presiding at the games was very highly valued (of its value to the Eleans see Polyb. 4. 73), as was the incorruptibility of the members of the court. Nearly every other body of Greek officials were at times guilty of corruption; but no instance is recorded of such conduct on the part of the Agonotheatai in the great games: though the writer of the *Accusation of Alcibiades* (Aristotle's § 26) seems to hint that influence was sometimes brought to bear upon them in the matter of admitting certain persons to compete. At Olympia there were two selected by lot from the 50th Olympiad (B.C. 580); and this arrangement remained until the 70th Olympiad (B.C. 480), when the number was raised to nine (ἑξάκωνθιστοι), increased in the 77th Olympiad (B.C. 472) to ten (οὐκ ὀκτώκωνθιστοι); and in the 103rd Olympiad (B.C. 368) raised to twelve, one for each of the twelve Elean tribes, but reduced again at the next Olympiad (B.C. 364) to eight, and finally at the 108th Olympiad (B.C. 348) raised again to 10 (Pausan. 5, 9. 4—6).

χαρίζεσθε 'ye grant it as a favour.' There is a *χρηματισμός*, *χρηματισμός*, while properly applicable to *το δαπάνησθαι*, is not so strictly to *διαπραγματεύεσθαι* 'those who have obtained them by intrigue'; but the general idea of weak compliance conveyed by *χαρίζεσθαι* may be held to apply to both classes.

181 διδάξαι, see above s. 179, σαφέστερον 'more distinctly,' i.e. by quoting instances.

Θεμιστοκλῆς . Σαλαμίνη, B.C. 480. Herod. 8, 22—3, 55—79.
For the retreat of Demosthenes see *ibid.* 4, 60, § 206.

ὁ στρατηγῆσας 'who was a strategist,' i.e. one of the ten strategoi, who commanded at sea as well as on land, the Athenians having no separate officer like the Spartan *navarchos*. Themistocles was neither commander-in-chief of the whole Greek fleet, nor sole commander of the Athenian contingent, but his activity and personal weight made him practically so for a time.

ὅτε τῇ ἐνίκῃ. Wallner brackets the whole clause as corrupt. If τῇ Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχίᾳ is to stand it must mean 'at the time of the sea-fight at Salamis'—a locative and a temporal dative (cf. 176). Some MSS. have ἐν τῇ περὶ Σαλαμῖνα ναυμαχίᾳ, some πᾶσι for περὶ, some Σαλαμῖνι for Σαλαμῖνα. Franke reads ὅτ' ἐν τῇ Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχίᾳ. Combat would cut out all from ποταμὸν to Ἀπέρ, except the simple ποταμὸν αὐτῶν ἀνθρώπων δοῦναι. Οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλγος τῇ Σαλαμῖνι. This is certainly clearer and more forcible, but is it therefore necessarily what Aeschines wrote? Notice that αἰσχεύω κούφως forms a transitive verb governing τοὺς βαρβάρους. See Matr. § 26.

ὁ τὴν τάξιν λιπών. *S. 100* s. 152.

Μιλτιάδης, ἐν Μαραθῶνι, π.σ. 490, H. 2nd. vi. 110 seq.

οὐ ἀπὸ Φυλῆς. Thucydides of Stœira and his followers who expelled the Thirty *b.c.* 404, Xen. *Hell.* 2, 4. Demosthenes *J. L.* § 280 calls him ὁ δεινόςτος, and in Aristoph. *Plut.* 550 he is mentioned as the anti-thesis of a tyrant, Dionysius being the representative of the latter. The last year of his life brought him into dis-favour with the people. In *b.c.* 390 he was sent on an expedition, in which he was held to have exceeded or disobeyed his instructions, and was recalled; but stopping on his way home to gather contributions from the cities in Asia Minor, he was killed in the course of his journey at Aspendus in Pamphylia. Xenoph. *Hell.* 4, 8, 25—31; Diodor. Sic. 14, 99. Lycurg. *Orat.* 28. Φυλή, a fortification of great strength commanding the pass over Mt Parnes on the road to Thebes, about twelve miles from Athens. It lies in the heart of the mountains where several ravines and passes leading to Attica and Boeotia unite (Livul.). See Mahaffy's *Parables*, p. 203—4.

'Αριστέδης ὁ δίκαιος, see Plutarch *Just.* 6, ὅτεν ἀνὴρ πόνος καὶ θάνατος ἐπέτατο τῇ βασιλευσάντῃ καὶ θεοσάτῃ προση- γοῖαν τὸν δίκαιον, : 7, τῷ δ' αὖτ' Ἀριστέῃ συμβῆναι τὸ πρῶτον ἐγαπόμενόν διὰ τὴν ἐπιμνηστικὴν ἀπονομήναι. One who voted for his cousinship, on being asked whether he had any cause to dislike him—οὐδὲν, ὅτεν, ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἀλλοτρίον, ἀλλ' ἐν ἑαυτῷ πάντες εἶμεν τοῦ δίκαιου ἀδελφόν.

182 ἐν ταῖς αὐταῖς ἡμέραις. cp. § 117, as we say, 'not to be named in the same week with them.'

τοῦ θηρίου τούτου 'of this monster.' Dem. thence uses this term freely of his opponents. Cp. *in Timocr.* 143, εἰς οὐ μὴ πταίωσιν οὐτε τούτους, οὐκ ἂν ἐβλήτο τὸ πλῆθος τούτους τοὺς ὁμοίους δοῦναι. So in *de Cor.* § 322 he speaks of his prosecutors being let loose upon him ἀπὸς ὁμοῦ. Cp. *c. Phorm.* A § 52, *in Lucr.* § 8. For the sentiment cp. Dem. *in Dem.* § 16, ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐ

πρὸς ταῦτο τὸ εἶδος παραβέβαιεν δὲ τοὺς ἀνὰ καὶ τῇ πύλῳ καὶ τῶν προγόνων ὑπὲρ ἑμῶν πράξαντας.

ἐκείνων 'those famous men.'

εἴ που γέγραπται 'if there is any record,' either on monuments or in the public records (γῆράματα).

κακείνοί γε... πόλεως 'Yes, and they too were worthy to be members of the state.' [Some mss. have κακείνοί and αὐτοὶ for αὐτοὶ, and αὐτοὶ for αὐτοὶ. If κακείνοί is adopted to αὐτοὶ and the other readings are accepted, the sentence must be taken as a question, 'and were they, as being left without outward mark of honour, on that account unworthy of the state?' Weidn. omits αὐτοὶ καὶ τῶν προγόνων.]

183 ἐπὶ τῷ Στρυμόνι. The siege and capture of Eion on the Strymon was one of the most important episodes in the ten years' war (B.C. 476—465) conducted principally by Cimon, as commanding the forces of the confederacy of Greeks, against the Persian power in Thracæ and the Hellespont. In these parts Persian governors and partisans were still maintained after the failure of the great invasion of B.C. 480—479, and one after another was attacked and taken. The town to hold out longest was Eion under its governor Boges. Thucyd. 1, 98; Herod. 7, 107; Plutarch *Cim.* 7. Grote *Hist.* Vol. v. p. 150. Aeschines here refers to the whole series of military actions, as he does by using the imperfect ἐλάων.

Λιθίνους, the earlier Hermae had been of wood (Herod. 1.111). *Pythay.* § 245. *Anthol. Pionid.* 187.

Ἐρμῶν μὲν τις ἐπύχετο, καὶ ἴδμεν ἔτι
εἴτα μὲν ἀνὰ χαλκῶς βαλεῖ τὰ δ' ἀπὸ χαλκοῦ
ἐρμῶν καταγέστος. ἦρμι πρὸς πολλὰς ἀλφειάς.

ἐν τῇ στοᾷ τῇ τῶν Ἐρμῶν. The covered street extending through the middle of the agora between the στοὰ παλαιὰ and the στοὰ αὐαῖος. Cp. Lysias 28 § 2, τὰ κατὰ τὴν παλαιὰν στοᾶν. *Herod.* 1.111. The inscriptions were κατὰ ἐν τῇ στοᾷ (Schol.). There were many other Hermae both in front of private houses and temples (Thucyd. 6, 27. 1, πολλοὶ καὶ ἐν ἰδίῃς οἰκίαις καὶ ἐν ἱερῶν), but this στοὰ had the greatest number, and was specially called by the name.

ἐφ' ᾧ τε μὴ ἐπιγράφειν τὰ ὀνόματα 'on enjoining of their not inscribing their names on them.' A famous example of the dislike to such vanity was the case of Pausanias, who had his name inscribed on the stand of twisted serpents (still extant) for the golden tripod dedicated after the battle of Plataea; which inscription the Spartans caused to be erased. Thucyd. 1, 132 (see Herod. 9, 81; Pausan. 10, 13, 9).

184 ἦν = ἦσαν. Cp. Hesiod *Theog.* 3, 21, τῆς δ' ἦν τρεῖς κεφαλῆς. It our ἦν is particularly characteristic of Ionic, cp. Epicharmus *ap. Athen.* vii. 278 a, εἰσπαῖ τε τοσαῦται παρ. ν. (B. 11). Id. 286 b, ἦν δὲ καὶ αἱ. Id. 306 a, ἦς δ' εὐαίδης τε βελήλαστοι. The passage quoted in Herod. 5, 12 admits of another explanation. The earliest form of the tense was probably εἰ (H. 4, 321; 5, 887), hence apparently this dialectal form ἦν (ἦν) for εἰ. One ms. has a correction ἦσαν for ἦν. It has however generally been explained as a rare grammatical license limited by the rule that the verb must precede the subject. See Eschp. *Im.* 1246; *Nachh.* 1350; *Hell.* 1358; *Aesch.* *Pers.* 49; *Soph.* *Trach.* 520; *Lucian.* *Amores* 410; Goodw. § 135, notes; *Madv.* *G. Gr.* p. 2.

Λιμόν τ' αἰθῶνα 'burning hunger.' Cp. the German *ein Hungerender Hunger* (Simony). Cp. Callim. *Hymn* vi. 68, αἰθῶνα καὶ λιμόν τε καὶ ἄλγος ἔρδαναι λιμόν αἰθῶνα κρατερῶν. Eion was starved out: *Βυγὸς βοσκήσας ἐς τὸ ἐσχάτον* Herod. 7, 107.

εἶπον ἀμνηχανῖν 'first discovered how to reduce their enemies to despair.' Schol. *deut.* τὸ ἀμνηχανῖν δὲ ἔλκεν τοῖς πάλαιους. Herodotus uses ἀμνηχανῖν as equivalent to ἀδυναμῖν 'weakness,' 'inability' (8, 111). Cp. Aeschines *fr.* 92 (Boeckh), 'ἀμνηχανῖν πάλαι, καὶ ἀδυναμῖν, ὅτι ἀμνηχανῖν ἀδύνατον ἀμνηχανῖν ἀδύνατον.' 'To find the helplessness of an enemy,' is here used to mean 'to make him helpless.' The reference, if it is to be pressed at all, can only be to the series of operations during this period of the war of B.C. 476—465; they could not by any stretch be said to be the first Greeks who had beaten a Persian army, as Herodotus said of the victors of Marathon (6, 112).

[Weidner follows Richter in putting this epigram second, the third εἰ ποτε κ.τ.λ. first, and the second γῆράματα κ.τ.λ. last. But the order of the text is that of Plutarch (*Cimon*, 7, Stierens, ed. 1879); and there seems no authority for, and little advantage in, the change.]

καὶ ἐπισσομένων seems a reminiscence of Hom. *Il.* 22, 305, ἀλλὰ μέγα μέλας τι καὶ ἐπισσομένη πύλοισι.

ἀμφὶ ξυνοίσι πράγμασι 'in defence of the common interests of Hellas.' These were the palmy days of the confederacy of Helles, when most states in Greece were acting in league against Persia. ξυνοίσι is used in tragedy (*Soph.* 47, 182) and in Herodotus (4, 12; 7, 63), but not in Attic prose; it is the Ionic equivalent of κοινῶς.

ἀμφί. This use of ἀμφί is almost entirely poetical, and Ionic (Herod. 6, 62, 129). Its place was taken by περί, and it gradually disappeared from use. It only occurs twice in Thucyd. (7, 10, 1; 8, 63, 1), and never in the orators (except in such quotations) or in Polybius. *Madv.* § 72.

185 Μενεσθεύς. This hero is called *εὖς* in II. 13, 195 (being one of two ἀρχαὶ Ἀθηναίων); *μεγαθύμης* II. 12, 373; Πάριππος II. 4, 327; *εὖς* Πηλεΐδης II. 2, 652.

τῷ δ' ὅπως τις ἄλλος ἐπιχθόνιος γένοιτο δούρ
κοσμηταὶ ἵππους τε καὶ ἀνδρῶς ἀσπιδιώτας.

The expression in the second of these two lines is what has suggested to the epigram writer the *κοσμητὰρ* *μυθόν*.

χαλκοχιτώνων. This is the epithet of the Ἀχαιοὶ in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, not the Danae, see II. 1, 371; 2, 47, 167, 187, 457; 3, 127, 131 etc. *Odys.* 1, 286; 4, 496.

οὕτως—ἡγορέης. Weidauer translates these two lines, *κοσμητὰς, κοσμηταῖς* in Pindaric. Both constructions are admissible. The accusative arises from the influence of the infinitive. Cp. Herod. 6, 22, *ἐλπίς δὲ... ἀποχαιρόμενοι* *ἐλπίς* ἀπαικὴν ἐκπλῶν *μετὰ* *μενέας* Μόδοις *ἀνδρῶν*.

ἡγορέης = ἀνδρῶν, II. 8, 226.

186 εἰς τὴν στοάν τὴν ποικίλην on the opposite side of the *Παιονία* to the *στοὰ* *Ρακίλων*. It was originally called *Παιονία* (Plutarch *Cimon* 1), and afterwards *στοὰ* *Ποικίλη* on account of the frescoes painted by Polygnotus and other artists. There were four great frescoes: (1) the battle of Oenone, between the Athenians and Lacadaemonians (Paus. 2, 1512); (2) the battle between the Athenians, under Theseus, and the Argives; (3) a group of Greek chiefs after the capture of Troy assembled to discuss the violence of Ajax upon Cassandra; (4) the battle of Marathon. Pausan. 1, 15.

τὰ ὑπομνήματα, Dem. *de Cor.* § 65, *ταῖς δ' ὅσων Ἀθηναίων καὶ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐκείτην ἐν πύλαις καὶ Λαγύρις καὶ Θεωροπόλιν τῶν προγράφων τούτων ὑπομνήματα ὑπάρχουσιν...*

ἤτησεν. We have no record of such a request on the part of Miltiades.

γραφῆναι παρακαλοῦντι 'to be painted in the act of elating on.' The prominent figures in the fresco of Marathon were Theseus, rising out of the earth, Athena, Heracles, Callimachus the polemarch, the hero Egeus, and Miltiades. The picture was in three departments: (1) the chariot, (2) the *πρότερον*, (3) the struggle at the ships. It is the last which contained these figures. Paus. l.c.

187 ἐν τῷ μητρῷ. The *Ματρῶν*, the temple of Cybele the mother of the gods, was near the chamber of the council of five-hundred. It was the work of Phidias, and was used as a record office: see Pausan. 1, 3, 4; Dem. *I. L.* § 129, *ἐν τῷς κήραις τῶς ἐκείνης γράμματα ἐν τῷ μητρῷ ἐν δεικτοῖς* § 98, *πῶς δ' εἰς τὸ μητρὸν φέρονται*; Lycurg. *ἀπὸ Περικλέους*, s.v. *κόμης* *ἀπὸ* *ἀπὸ*.

ἀπαρτίζαντες ἐν τῷ Μητρῷ. Schol. ἐγχεσαν καὶ ἐν τοῖς Φιλίπ-
πικοῖς *ὅτι* *μῦθος* *τῶν* *ἰδουλοτήριον* *ἐπέστησαν* *οἱ* *Ἀθηναῖοι* *τὸ* *Μητρῷ*,
ὅ *ἐπὶ* *τῇ* *ἐκείνῃ* *τῇ* *Ρέας* *διὰ* *τὴν* *αἰτίαν* *ἐκείνην* *τῶν* *Φρυγῶν* (the story
being that the temple was built in expiation of the execution
of Mithraegytis for initiating Attic women in the mysteries of
the *ἰδουλο* *ἰδουλο*). Hypothesis to Demosth. *de Cor.* *καλεῖται* *γὰρ*
μῦθος *φειδῶ* *γὰρ* *καλεῖται* *εἰς* *τὸ* *Μητρῷ* *ἐπὶ* *ἀγῶν*. Athenaeus
5, 234 c (cf. Athenaeus the Peripatetic, *τὰ* *τ'* *ἐκ* *τῶν* *Μητρῶν* *τῶν*
παλαιῶν *ἀντίγραφα* *φειδῶ* *καλεῖται* *ἐπὶ* *τῶν* *ἐκείνων*). There
the documents regarding lawsuits were deposited. Athenaeus
9, 407 c, *ὅ* *δὲ* *Ἀθηναῖοι* *ἐπὶ* *τῷ* *Μητρῷ* *ὅπου* *τῶν* *δικῶν*
ἀπὸ *αἱ* *γραφαὶ* *καὶ* *ἀπὸ* *τῶν* *ἐκείνων* *ἐκ* *τῶν* *ἐκείνων* *δεξιῶν*
τῶν *ἀπὸ* *τῶν* *ἡγεμόνων*. There the *ἐκείνων* or audits were held.
(Plutarch) *vid. Lycurg.* (X. Orai.), *μέλλων* *δὲ* *τελευτῆσαι* *εἰς* *τὸ*
μητρῷ *καὶ* *ἐκείνων* *ἐκείνων* *αἱ* *ἐκείνων* *κατασθῆναι* *βουλομένων*
ἐκείνων *καὶ* *ἐκείνων* *ἐκείνων*. Opposite it were the statues
of Harmodius and Aristogiton restored by Alexander (Arrian
An. 3, 16, 8).

φεύγοντα τὸν δῆμον. All the opponents of the Thirty
tyrants were forbidden the *ἀστυ*, and either took refuge in the
Peiraeus or in other towns such as Megara, Thebes or Chalcis;
and more than half the citizens were said to have been thus in
exile. Xen. *Hellen.* 2, 4, 1; Diodor. Sic. 14, 5; Isocras 24 § 25;
Isocr. 18, 1, *ἐκ* *Πειραιῶς* *καταλύοντες*.

Ἀρχίνος ὁ ἐκ Κοῤῥης. A leading statesman and orator in
the period immediately succeeding the restoration of the demo-
cracy (B.C. 404–39), Demarch. 1 § 76; Aeschin. 2 § 176; Plato
Menex. 234 c. It was he who proposed the law covering by an
amnesty all offences committed during the year of anarchy.
Isocr. 18, 2. He had been with Thrasybulus at Phyle, and
was, says Demosthenes (*de Timocr.* § 135), *μετὰ* *γὰρ* *τοῖς* *θεοῖς*
αἰσχυρῶς *τῆς* *καθόλου* *τῆς* *ἀρχῆς* *καὶ* *ἀλλὰ* *πολλὰ* *καὶ* *καλὰ* *πεπολε-*
μημένος *καὶ* *ἐκπαισθημένος* *πολλῶν*. He seems however, though
the author of the amnesty, to have jealously guarded against
advantage being taken of the troubles to introduce illegal
measures. See § 195, and (Plutarch) *vid. Lycurg.* where he is
said to have indicated the proposal of Thrasybulus to bestow
citizenship on the orator Lyngas. Κοῤῥη was a deme of the
tribe Hippothontis, just north of the town, in which was the
tomb of Thucydides (Marcell. *vid. Thucyd.* § 16), the road
through it was called *ἡ* *Κοῤῥη* *ἡ* *ἡ* (Herod. 6, 163). The
demonstrator was expressed by *ἐκ* *Κοῤῥης*, Isocr. 18, 22 (C. L. G.
276, 1, 28, *Δωκεῖος* *Ἰσίδωρος* *ἐκ* *Κοῤῥης*).

καταγαγόντων 'who restored,' a well-known use of *κατάγειν*
(Herod. 6, 25), the analogue to *καταβαίνει* (Arist. *Rhet.* 1165).

εἰς θυσίαν. δραχμας 'proposed to give them 1000 drachmae

(about 10£) for a sacrifice and monument.¹ The restoration of peace was celebrated at Athens by a solemn procession and sacrifice to Athena on the Acropolis. Plutarch *Glor. Atheniens.* vi.; Lysias xiii. § 80—1.

ἐλαττον ἢ δέκα δραχμαὶ κατ' ἄνδρα. The number of men therefore who were with Thrasylbulus in Phyle must have exceeded 100. In Xenophon (*Hellen.* 2, 4, 2) the number originally accompanying Thrasylbulus when he sailed Phyle is said to have been about 70 (as σὺν ἐξοπαρχεύοντι). Other authorities mention even smaller numbers, see Diodorus xiv. 32; Pausan. 1, 29, 3; Demosth. *de Timocr.* § 31. Orat. viii. p. 56. This particular reward seems to have been confined to the original holders of Phyle, who withstood the first attack of the troops of the Thirty; for soon after the failure of the attack the numbers were 700 (Xen. *Hellen.* 2, 4, 5).

πρῶτον μὲν... ἔπειτα without *ἀντὶ*, as before, see Demosth. *de Cor.* 1, 1.

θαλλοῦ 'of olive leaves.' Cp. 2 § 40. πάλιν δὲ πάντες ἐχούμεν ἡμῖς ἀποφασίσαι πολλὰ καὶ ἀποφάσιν ἐκείνῳ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔργοις τοῖς τῶν δέμων καὶ καλῶσι ἐπὶ δέπνῳ ὡς τὸ πρῶτον.

τίμιος *in person*. See Photius *Lex.* τίμιος ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀντιπροσώπῳ. ὁ δὲ Δημόστῳς ἐχούμεν ἐπὶ τῷ παρακλήσει πολλὰ τὰς.

Λακεδαιμόνιοι. The Spartan garrison that had been placed in Athens, under the command of Callibius, at the request of the Thirty (Xen. *Hellen.* 2, 3, 13—14). Some of them were employed against Phyle (ib. 2, 4, 4).

τάξιν ἐλαττον, § 148, 152.

188 ἀναγνώσεται. so. ὁ γραμματεὺς.

παρανάγνωθι (to the ἀντὶ) 'read to compare with this.' Cp. παραγγεῖλαι καὶ πάλιν. Dem. *de Cor.* § 111.

ἐκείνο 'the former,' i.e. the decision in favour of the defenders of Phyle.

στεφανοῦται. the present for the immediate future, 'is proposed to be crowned.' § 117. Cp. Demosth. *de Cor.* § 84 δευτέρῳ κοινῇ μὲν ὅλην αὐτῶν γένηται.

189 πυνθάνομαι γέ 'I am actually told' (though I don't know). The γέ gives emphasis to the fact that he is now speaking from information received, not from personal knowledge. Cp. § 223. See Dem. *de Chor.* § 314—5 for the answer, which does not follow the line here indicated. Simcox supposes that the paragraph was added after the trial, when Aeschines prepared the speech for publication.

Φιλάμμωνα. This Athenian boxer (as πάντας ἐνέκα τοῖς ἀντιπάλουσι. Suid.) is mentioned also by Aristotle (*Rhet.* 3, 11). Γλαῦκος. This famous boxer was a native of Carystus, and was said to have followed the plough, until his power as a boxer induced him to try the games. He won twice at the Pythian, eight times at the Nemean games, as well as at Olympia, where there was a statue of him. Pausan. 6, 10, 1—3. Quoted with Milo as ideals of strength by Lucian *pro Cato.* § 12.

ὥσπερ ὑμᾶς ἀγνοοῦντας 'as though you were unaware,' for constitution see § 142 ὡς Βουστῶς ἐργῶ κακῶς πασχόντας.

πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν ἀρετὴν. The test, which those who claim to be crowned must submit, is a trial by the standard of absolute merit: the ideal merit which deserves a crown.

ἧς καὶ ἐνεκα 'in virtue of which it is that they are crowned.' καὶ emphasizes the cause.

Πατακίωνος. Suid. αὐτὸς δὲ κλέπτης. Harpocr. κλέπτης καὶ τοκωφίλος. Suidas ἀντὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς τῆς αὐτοῦ ποιημένος καὶ πινυμένων ἐπιτελείει τοὺς ἀδικαίους τῶν νέων. Plutarch *de animi fort.* 4 Πινυσιώτης ὁ κλέπτης. His name seems to be used like those of Phygadeuon and Emphilatus as synonymous for rascality.

ἐφικόμενος τῆς ἀνδραγαθίας. Suid. ταῦτά τε γινόμενος ἀντὶ ἀγαθῶν, κρατῶν τὴν ἀρετὴν. ἐφικόμενος δὲ ἀνδραγαθίας 'when you have attained to excellence, then ἀντὶ ask the people for favours.' You must not presume to ask for reward till you have done something more than excel this or that person; you must attain a certain standard of positive excellence. For οὕτω 'when you have done this,' marking the condition under which action is taken, cp. Thucyd. 1, 37, 1, προεθελῶντας πρώτον καὶ ἡμῶν περὶ ἀποφάσεων οὕτω καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις λόγῳ ἵσταί. Herodotus in this connection generally writes οὕτω δέ. see 6, 36, 61 etc.

§§ 190—200. The epilogue concerning the restorers of the democracy may be regarded in another point of view. They were honoured for putting down men who were acting unconstitutionally; and that is a fresh illustration of a fact which I have heard from other sources of the great strictness with which trials on γράφαι παρανόμων were then conducted, compared with the slackness of the present practice. In truth such a trial ought not to admit of advocacy of the usual sort. The facts are as plain as a diagram. The law and the proposed decree can be compared, and an absolute decision arrived at, which cannot be gainsaid. Do not therefore allow Ctesiphon to call Demosthenes.

190 ὑποθέσως § 76, 174.

παλαίχθων 'immemorial dwellers in their land.' For the Athenians claimed to be αὐτόχθονες. Thucyd. 1, 2, 5 τὴν γαῖαν Ἀττικὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλείστον διὰ τὸ Λεπτόγειον ἀστυλίστην οἶσαν ἀνθρώποι φέουσι αἱ αὐτοὶ αἰετ. Cp. 2, 36.

τοὺς ἀδίκους θεσμοὺς ἄρξαντας 'those who held office under unconstitutional laws.' The Thirty were a board appointed nominally to draw up a revised code of laws, and to continue the government in the meanwhile, and were formally voted by the assembly; but under pressure from Iysander, and with the well-understood intention of putting down the democracy. Xen. Hellen. 2, 3, 2; Diodor. xiv. 3; Lysias xii. § 74—δ. αὐτοὶ. § 13.

κίνδυνον. ἀράμενοι. So τὸ λίσσασθαι Herod. 7, 172.

191 ἔναυλον γὰρ ἦν τότε πᾶσιν 'for it was at that time ringing in the ears of all.' Properly ἔναυλος means 'to the sound of the flute'; but it is nearly always used in a metaphorical sense. Plato Menon. 235 οὗτως ἐναυλὸς ὁ λόγος τε καὶ ὁ φιλόλογος παρὰ τοῦ ἔναυλος ἐνέσται εἰς τὸ ὅσα 'with such a ringing fastidious sound.'

τηνικαῦτα... ἐπειδὴ 'that in that period the democracy was really dissolved, since a party had abolished the γραφεὶς τειμενίων,' i.e. 'It was the abolition of the γραφεὶς τειμενίων that really constituted the destruction of the democracy,' τὰ τῆς δημοκρατίας ἐχρήσατο § 234. τηνικαῦτα is not so much temporal as circumstantial: 'in the circumstances then existing.'

ἐπειδὴ τινες ἀνείλον. Cp. Dem. c. Tim. § 154 ἀνομοὶ δὲ καὶ τὸ πρῶτον αὐτὰ καταλύσαντες τὴν δημοκρασίαν, παρανόμων πρῶτον γραφῶν καταλύσαντες. No formal repeal of the law regulating the γραφεὶς παρανόμων seems to have been carried by the promoters of the revolution in a.c. 404, as it had been in the revolution of the Four-hundred a.c. 411 (Thucyd. 8, 67, 2). But the appointment of the Thirty being for the purpose nominally of drawing up a fresh code, all laws were for the time suspended. Grote viii. p. 27; Thirlwall iv. p. 170. For τινες of invasions ἀνείλον, 'certain (unconstitutional) parties,' cp. § 58.

καὶ γὰρ τοι 'for, in point of fact,' directly the democracy was restored the γραφεὶς παρανόμων became a reality.

οὓς πολλάκις Markland for οἱ πολλάκις. The construction with ὡς... ὡς... is much disjointed. The omission of οἱ πολλάκις... ἔφη γὰρ would make it singular; but the sentence, though rough, is forcible. Weidner restores consecutive-ness by inserting ὡς τοῦτο (= $\pi\alpha\sigma\iota$) and the second ὡς τοῦτο making ὡς τοῦτο πολλάκις. σχολῆς explain the mention of his father § 26 γὰρ.

ἔφη γὰρ resumes the sentence which has lost its way in the parenthesis. 'He said then.' γὰρ narrativum.

εἰ τις εἰσίοι γραφήν. Verbaum dicuntur, ut vocabulum forense, dicitur et de accusa, et de re, et de iudicio. Bremi. (Demosth.) c. Neaer. 122, πῶς εἰσέναι τὴν γραφὴν ταύτην; c. Boeot. 1, δὲ καὶ παλαιὴ ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἵστοναι εἰς δικαστήριον. Cabet would however read γραφῆ, quoting § 197 and Demosth. F. L. § 14, εἰς τὴν ἢ γραφῆν εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον.

εἶναι ὅμοιον τὸ ὄνομα καὶ τὸ ἔργον. Bremi takes this to mean 'an illegal suggestion was held as culpable as an illegal act.' And the Schol. εὐχ' ἦτορ εἰς τὴν ταύτην πλείστον παρὰ τὸν ἐν ἔργῳ αὐτοῦ τὴν γραφὴν παρανόμων. This seems to put a stigma upon the meaning of ὄνομα. I think it is to be construed 'It was a reality, and no mere,' 'it was carried out with seriousness.' Cp. the proverbial phrase ἀπὸ ἔπος τε καὶ ἔργου. Herod. 3, 134; Homer. Πηλεὶς τοῖς Ἑρμῆς, 46, ὡς αὐτὸ ἔπος τε καὶ ἔργον ἐνέσται ἀέθλους Ἑρμῆς. Pindar. 8, 36, 11, εἰς τὴν Λαγῶν τεύχεος εἰσάγει ἀσπίδα. Lat. diuina factum, Terence Huiusmodi, 700, 1011.

τί γὰρ ἐστίν 'and quite rightly so, for what is more abominable than a man making unconstitutional proposals and acting unconstitutionally?'

192 ἀνεπὸδιδον 'they used to stop the clerk' in the course of his reading, and bid him go back and read over again. Herod. 5, 92 § 6.

τὸ ψήφισμα 'the proposal drawn' which was the subject of the action.

παραπηδήσαιεν, παραλλάξαιεν 'not only if they utterly ignored (lit. learnt just) the laws, but if they neglected even a single syllable.' παραπηδᾶν is a strong word for παραβαίνειν, παραλλάττειν is putting it at the lowest, 'pass by as unimportant.' Cp. ἐπεσπηδῶν § 12, 200. Of course Aeschines implies that Demosthenes was guilty of the former. πράγμα 'proposition.'

ὑπερκαταγελαστον 'a supreme farce,' 'ridiculous beyond all measure.'

τὸ παράνομον 'the proposal alleged to contravene the laws.'

ὡσπερ ἐπωδήν 'as though it were a formula of incantation,'—a mere matter of form, to which no special attention was necessary,—like the reading of an Act of Parliament ordered at certain ceremonies in England. The use of incantations in sorceries and for wounds had no doubt come to be regarded with contempt in the time of Aeschines; but it had evidently been common. See Homer Odys. 23, 457; Pindar Pyth. 3, 91; 4, 385; Aeschyl. Ium. 618; Soph. Ajax 582; Thucyd. 2,

47, 5; Plato *Symp.* 203 a; *Theaet.* 149 c; *Republ.* II, 305; V, 426; Demosth. in *Aristot.* § 80.

193 παραδέχεσθε 'you habitually admit,' the present is used of what frequently goes on. § 232.

μετείνεσθαι, κατηγορεῖ. He means that by allowing this issue to be pleaded in a matter which, like a *γραφὴ παρανόμων*, admits of instant, simple, and conclusive decision by comparing the two documents, the jury allow the defendant to leave the point at issue and attack the character of the prosecutor, thus forcing him often to speak as though he were on his defence. In i. § 175 Aeschines asserts that Demosthenes had boasted that in pleading for Timarchus he had diverted the attention of the jury from him 'to the measser, and to Philip and the Phocians,' *καὶ εἰς τὰς ἐναντίας τοὺς ἀποκαταλέγων αὐτὸν ὡς μὲν φασίην κατηγορεῖν ὁ δὲ κατηγορεῖν ἀξιούμενος, αὐτὸ δὲ διαστρεφὲς μὲν ἦσαν δικασταὶ, τὴν δὲ αὐτὰν αὐτὸ δ' οὐκ ὄντως κρατοῦν τέρε τοῦτο ἦσαν.*

ὦν μὲν εἰσι κριταί. One chance in the juror's oath was 'I will give my decision on the question at issue, and none other.' Demosth. 746. The temptation of a juror to be misled by side issues, such as a man's character, public services or other actions, was of course as common then as now: and the Athenian orators continually address themselves to this weakness; but to assert that Demosthenes invented the trick is absurd.

ἀν' ἄρα 'if indeed he ~~ever~~ does touch on it'—which he frequently does not, § 162. For ἀφ' ἄρα op. cit. 161, 237.

ὥς, ἄρετος ἀπέφυγεν. See Dem. *de Cor.* §§ 83, 114, 223—226. But Demosthenes in these passages does not adopt the plea that these men had not been convicted, but that they had not been prosecuted, or, if they were, that Aeschines had not prosecuted them or helped their prosecution. If he had pleaded that they had been tried and acquitted it would have been a good precedent.

ἀκούω. See on # 1-9, *πρωτόφωνοι*: *de Chor.* § 319; *Lysias* 19 § 5.

[illegible]

involves (Aristophanes was the place where the Hellenistic oath was administered, near the Stadium Panathenaicum, Harpocr.). In Demosth. *Lept.* § 146 he is named one of three *μαλιστα* of *δυνατοὶ ἄνθρωποι* who are elected *συνάξασι* to defend the law of Leptines (n.b. 335). This was late in his career: he had been long a leading orator, and is often referred to by Demosthenes among his most powerful predecessors. See *de Cor.* § 212, *P. L.* § 297. He is mentioned as having prosecuted Iphicrates for treason (Quintil. 5, 12, 10-11). See Pollux vii. 11. Schaefer vol. 1, p. 186, 174, 415. For his financial measures, see Schaefer vol. 1, 179, 200; vol. 2, p. 54. In Dindorf's index to Demosthenes he seems to be confused with Aristophanes of Gadytes.

ὁ Κέφαλος ἑκείνος. Σουλὸς Νάξιος Ἀθηναῖος, ὁ παρὰ Ἀλκιμαχῶνα, ὃς πρῶτον πείσθηκε καὶ τὰ ῥήματα ἐκτέλεσαι ἡγεῖται δ' ἐπὶ τῇ ἀπογραφῇ [Hec. παρ. 104]. He was of the deme Collytus, and is mentioned by Demosthenes (I, 18—9) as having proposed a decree for sending out an expedition for the relief of Thebes (Hec. 379), and is said in n.c. 394 to have cooperated in the combination against Sparta instigated by Tithraustes in order to get rid of Ag-silans from Asia [Pausan. 3, 9, 8]. Suidas therefore cannot be right in saying that he was born in n.c. 404, if he does mean that. He was a leading orator at least as early as n.c. 392, see Arist. *Rhet.*, 218. He is classed with Aristogiton and Timocleides in Dem. *de Cor.* § 219.

οὐδεμίαν παρανόμων. Dem. *de Cyr.* § 251. Demosthenes answers that it is still greater credit to have been often prosecuted on this charge and always acquitted; and that as far as Aeschines is concerned he can make Cephalus' boast, for Aeschines has never brought any action against him. πέφευγε 'has been a defendant in.'

οἱ διαπολιτευόμενοι 'the rival statesmen,' 'the statesmen of rival parties.' For this sense of 'rivalry' conveyed by *ἀν* in composition cp. *ἀνταγωνιστής*, *ἀνταγωνιστής*, *ἀνταγωνίζεσθαι* (Ar. *Eq.* 1420), *ἀνταρσία* (Thucyd. *Id.* 2. 22), *ἀντιπρὸς* (Hecod. 9, 16) and others.

195 ἐκεῖθεν 'from the following instance': § 168.

²*Apixivos*. We know of one case, namely that of the orator *Lysias' entomorphos*. See vol. § 187.

Θρασύβουλον Φυλῆς. See Demosth. *de M. L.* § 321, and notes on §§ 181, 187. Wendermanns *εὐφρατα* Φυλῆς, while Cobet would omit the whole clause *ἐὰν το Φυλῆς* on the ground that Thrasylubus, the hero of the restoration, would not be spoken of as one of those who returned, *quod gregarius miles aut unus de multis prodest*! But the point of their having been associated on that occasion needs to be emphasized here.

εἰλε 'secured his condemnation.' In this sense *αἰεῖν* is used (1) with the accusative of the person, Isaeus 78, 86, τετελευτηκότα παρανομίας αἰεήσιντε, Arist. *Nub.* 591, Κλέωνα δόξαν ἔχοντες καὶ κλοπῆς. (2) with γράφειν, *Antiph.* 2 § 5, γράφας πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας δίκας σὺδ' αἰεῖν εἶλεν. (3) with two accusatives, Isaeus 64, 10 δίκας εἶλεν Εὐπολίαν δόξαι.

νεωστὶ... εὐεργεσιῶν 'though he had in his favour the fact that his services to the state were quite recent.' *Neostis* is not dat. of the agent, but of *εὐεργεσιῶν*, in the sense of *εὐεργετικῇ* *εὐεργεσίᾳ* § 169.

ὑπελογίσαντο 'took into account.' Cp. Demosth. *de Cleo.* 99, 100.

ἐξελαύνειν 'that he was practically driving them into exile,' i.e. that by proposing illegal measures he was again destroying the democracy.

196 ἄλλ' οὐ νῦν 'but this is not the way now-a-days.'

σιτήσεις. The Prytanes were required to spend the whole day in their office, and sometimes the night also (*Andoc.* *de Myst.* 45), consequently a lunch (*ἀριστον*) and an evening meal (*δειπνον*, Demosth. *de Cleo.* 109) were provided for them, originally in the Prytaneion, but later in the *θηλας* or Round House built for their convenience close to the *βουλευτήριον*. Pollux 8, 155 ἡ Θήλας ἐν ᾗ συνήθ' ἔσθ' ἡμέρας πρὸς ἑκατόν τῆς τῶν πεντακοσίων βουλῆς, ἡ πρωταρχεὺς αὐτῆς. Pausan. 1, 5, 1 τοῦ βουλευτηρίου τῶν πεντακοσίων Περσῶν Θήλας ἐστὶ καλούμενη, καὶ θύεισι τε ἐνταῦθα οἱ πρωταρχεῖς. But besides the *πρωταρχεῖς* certain other persons had the privilege of being thus maintained, and they appear to have continued to get their meals in the Old Prytaneum, which was higher up the hill and further from the *βουλευτήριον*. These were (1) certain officials, *ἀγοραῖοι*, *ὑπομαχῆται*, *δαδάρχαι*, chiefing *ἐκὼν* (*ἀντιγράφοι*), the clerk of the *Boule* and of the *ecclesia* etc. (C. I. G. 184); (2) a number of persons entertained for special reasons, whom Pollux (9, 10) thus distinguishes: (1) ambassadors *πρὸς κατὰ δημοσίαν πρεσβείαν ἡκόντες*, cp. Arist. *Leu.* 124; (2) citizens or others who had done good service to the state *οἱ δὲ πρὸς τινα εὐεργετίας ἀμνηστῆται*; (3) those who had been granted perpetual maintenance *οἱ τῶν δὲ τιμῆς ἀμνηστῆται*, such as the children of Aristonides (Plut. *Arist.* 27) and the descendants of Harmodius and Aristogeiton. A single invitation to the *πρωταρχεῖς* was also generally given with a vote of thanks to those who had been employed on public service. Demosth. *de F. J.* § 35. J. G. Fenner in *Journal of Philology*, vol. xiv. p. 145.

τῶν... εὐρημένων 'some of those who have been granted this

maintenance,' see on § 162. Herod. 9, 26 τότε ἐφάρθεα τοῦτο 'we then obtained this privilege.'

ἐξαιτοῦνται 'try to obtain rejection of suits for παράνομα as a personal favour.' The word is generally used with accus. of the person whose pardon is desired. Lys. 14 § 20 εἰαν μὲν τῆς τῶν συγγενῶν ἀπὸν ἐξαιτῶνται.

τοιαύτη ᾤην. Cp. § 187, 231.

οἱ νόμοι σώζουσι Cp. § 6; in *Timarch.* § 30 εὐ δ' ἔστε, ἔ' Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐπεὶ τὰ οὐκ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀποκρίσεων εἰσὶν αἵματα καὶ τῆς πολιτείας οἱ νόμοι σώζουσι. [Cicero would omit οἱ νόμοι καὶ as being out of place.]

197 τίς... σώφρων 'what line of argument has been indicated (by the laws) for the use of an advocate who is induged by justice and a sense of propriety?' If he is *δικαίος* he will not wish to take any advantage to enable him to defeat the law, if he is *σωφρων* he will be restrained by self-respect.

εἰς τρία μέρη. This triple division of the day was made by the water clock (*ὕδρομετρον*, το *θῆλας*) which was under the care of an official called *ὁ ἐφ' ἡμέρας* (Pollux 8, 113). It was his business to see that the three portions were exactly equal. When the time allowed came to an end he stopped the water by means of a valve (*ὀλκῆς*, Pollux 10, 61); or if, during the time allowed for the speech, certain documents were to be read which were not to be taken from the time allowed to the orator. See Demosth. *in Steph. A.* § 8. Some trials however were not so arranged and were said to be *χωρὶς ἡμέρας*. For the whole subject see Harpocrat. s.v. *ὑπομαχῆται* *ἡμέρας*. And Schömann *Der Attische Process*, pp. 227-231 (ed. 1887).

ὅταν εἰσὶν γραφή. See on § 191.

καὶ τοῖς εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ πρᾶγμα λέγουσι 'for those who speak to the merits of the case' i.e. the *συγγροῖ* of the defendant. But Aeschines wishes to insinuate that those only are admitted to speak who discuss the question itself, to the exclusion of those who appeal to pity, character, and the like. They should be *συγγροῖ* of the *prophasia* not of its proposer. § 205.

μὴ λυθῇ 'is not refuted.' The 'first vote' is taken after the defendant's speech and those of his *συγγροῖ*, and decides whether the proposal is *παράνομον* or no. If the former, the jury then have to assess the penalty, and on that point the parties are heard again. There was no limit as to the punishment for it was an *ἀγὼν τεσσῶν*, one in which the prosecutor and defendant each assessed the punishment, the jury choosing between the two. See Schömann *Att. Proc.* p. 208 (ed. 1887).

198 τὴν ψηφὸν αἰτεῖ 'asks for your vote in his favour,'

rather than argues on equitable principles,—though he admits that this is comparatively excusable as being in the way of a humble deprecation of anger.

ψήφον αἰτέῖ, ὄρκον αἰτέῖ, see on § 157. The man who 'asks' for the vote on the main question as a favour; asks for what no citizen has a right to ask or to give, for it belongs to the law and the constitution, and should be given only in accordance with their spirit.

αὐτούς, i.e. the *συνήγοροι* of Ctesiphon.

διενεγκεῖν 'leaving you to give your votes according to the laws.' "*Διαφύκειν φέρει* dicitur de iuribus qui iudicium præstat de eadem re ferunt. Isocr. xv. § 173. Ἀγὼν ἀπὸρ ἐγὼ καὶ περὶ τοὺς μέλλοντας περὶ ἐσσι τοῦ τῶν ψήφον διακρίνω." Brousi.

ἀπαντᾶν εἰς τὴν τίμησιν 'to present themselves and devote their arguments to the assessment.'—to reserve their appeals till the time comes to assess the penalty. Aeschines assumes that the *συνήγοροι* can have nothing to say to the question of the illegality of Ctesiphon's proposal, for that is patent and admits of simple and conclusive proof: that only *bonis studiis* is an appeal for mercy at the assessment.

199 μόνον 'applicable to suits for unconstitutional proposals alone.'

τὸ δίκαιον 'the rights of the case,' 'the question of guilt or innocence.'

τὸν κανόνα προσφέρωμεν 'we apply the carpenter's rule,' cp. Timarchus ap. Polyb. 12. 12, 1, who uses the metaphor of truth in history, which is as essential as straightness in a carpenter's rule.

200 τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τὸ σανίδιον 'this small tablet,' on which the psephisma and the laws alleged to be broken by it are written side by side. Lysias xvi. § 6. It was covered with wax, and was therefore called a *λίθισμα*. Lys. iv. § 6; Demosth. in Timarch. § 23. ὃ δὲ τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τὸν κἀνὸν νόμον ἀναγεγράφας εἰς λίθον ἐκτεθέντων περὶ τῶν ἐπειρήσεων ἀσφαλεῖς εἰς ἀν' ἡ ἐκκλησία γένηται, — see the *πρῶτος* which follows this law for the procedure. Schömann, *Att. Proc.* (1887) p. 801.

τὸ ψήφισμα καὶ οἱ παραγεγραμμένοι νόμοι are included in the *σανίδιον*. For the latter see Demosth. *de Cor.* § III.

κατάβαινε, addressed to Ctesiphon.

παρακαλεῖν 'to summon as a *συνήγορος*,' generally of a witness, Demosth. *ad Marcell.* § 70 *μαρτυρίας ἔχειν τοῦτον παρακαλεῖν* τοὺς τε προσχωροῦντας καὶ τὰς ἄλλων οἷς παρακαλεῖται. Demosthenes protests against this attempt to prevent his getting a hearing, *de Cor.* § 13.

ὑπερπηδήσας, expressing the violence and audacity of the prosecution, cp. *παρὰ τὸ νόμον* § 192.

τὴν δίκαιαν ἀπολογίαν 'the defence which rests on an appeal to the legal issue.'

τεχνίτην λόγων 'a professional pleader.' Cp. in Timarch. § 170. Dem. c. *Androt.* § 1. *Ἐπεὶ γὰρ ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐστὶ Ἀθηναῖος, τεχνίτης τῶν λόγων καὶ πάντα τὰς διαρ' ἐχολοῖται ἐνὶ τούτῳ.* It is an obvious appeal to the prejudice against professional speech-writers, which Aeschines can make with greater force perhaps than Demosthenes, as he was not of the profession.

κλέπτεις τὴν ἀκρόασιν, Cp. § 200. καταλύεις § 191.

201-212 The only severity the jury have against these athletes is to insist on Ctesiphon sticking to the point, and trying only to show that his psephisma does not violate the laws; and again to refuse to allow him to call Demosthenes. If, however, you do allow this, you must insist that Demosthenes shall follow the order of my accusation, viz. (1) to show that the psephisma is not against the law in proposing to crown an *ἀπειρώτης*, (2) that the proposal as to the proclamation is not illegal both as to time and place, (3) to show that I am wrong in asserting that he is unworthy of the crown both from his private and public career (and observe that it is the latter on which I laid most emphasis). Don't let him vary this order: if you do he will divert your attention by his tears and oratorical artifices from the true point at issue. Meet all these theatrical displays with persistent incredulity, and a constant reference to the interests of the country which he has endangered. Besides, what need has he of all these pathetic appeals? It is Ctesiphon that is in danger, not Demosthenes. There is no fear of his feeling the slight so deeply as to kill himself like Ajax.

201 ἐνταυθοὶ δεῖται, 'to the defendant's house,' τοῦτο δὲ, αὐτῷ, 'this fine opening speech which has been assigned to him.' The defence was conducted by agreement among the *συνήγοροι*, no doubt acting on the advice of the most experienced among them, in this case Demosthenes. Each was to speak to a special part of the case. Thus in the *c. Androtionis* Diodorus, the prosecutor speaks second to certain points untouched by the previous speaker Eucleides. And again in Lysias 28, a speaker appeals to the jury to punish Eucleides, without touching on the evidence which had been spoken to by others. See Schömann, *Att. Proc.* (ed. 1887), p. 920-25. The force of *δὲ* is that of contemptuous irony.

προοίμιον is here used to mean 'an introductory' or 'first speech' in a defence. In ii. § 31 it means the introductory

part of a speech *φύεγεται τὸ θηρίον τοῦτο προσίειον σκοτεινὸν καὶ τεθυηλὸς δαίμων*.

ἐνδιατρίβη καὶ μὴ ἀπολογῆται 'and then begins wasting time instead of entering upon his defence.' *ἐνδιατρίβει* 'to introduce delays,' used of a man finding excuses for not fulfilling a contract, see Dem. in *Oligarchiā*, § 19 *ἐπειδὴ δ' ἐξέταρα καὶ οἱ δὲν ἴπνευ*.

ἄνευ θορύβου 'without any loud expressions of disapprobation.' Such cries or *παρορμήσεις* on the part of the jury seem to have been common. Socrates derides it, *Apol.* c. 18 *αὖθις θορυβεῖτε, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖαι* κ.τ.λ. Cfr. also Demosth. *de Cor.* § 52.

τὸ σανίδιον, see § 200.

παρاناγνῶναι 'to read by way of comparison,' cfr. § 200; Dem. *de Cor.* § 267.

μὴ προσποιῆται 'pretends not to hear you,' as in *ad. doxai* (Arist. *Top.* 1146, *Top.* 837), *οὐ φημι, οὐκ ἔω* and the like.

τῶν φευγόντων 'those who elude.' Othius would *τὰς ἀπολογίας ἀπολογίας* 'those who make defences not founded on the principles of law.' In this case *φεύγειν ἀπολογίαν* is an abbreviation of the meaning of *ἀπολογίαν δίδωμι* 'to do a defence,' and so 'to put forward as a defence,' Lat. *defendere*, followed by the plea put forward.

ἀκροασόμενοι 'to listen to' like the pupils or audience at a lecture.

202 τὴν δικάσαν ἀπολογίαν. 'the defence presented on the legal issue,' § 200. By calling Demosthenes, Aeschines means, Ctesiphon abandons the simple issue—'is my perphismia unconstitutional or not?'—and puts the personal question in the front.

μάλιστα μὲν 'if possible' or 'best of all;' answered by *ἄρ' ὅρα*.

κακοῖργον ἄνθρωπον. Weidner omits these words as a repetition of § 16. In some mss. they are preceded by *εὐφροσύνη*. Cobet would omit the whole clause from *κακοῖργον* to *ἀνθρώπον*.

ρήμασι 'mere words,' § 92.

ἐν ἀρετῇ καταλογιζέσθω 'regard it as meritorious,' i.e. as a sign of his kindness and impartiality. For ἐν ἀρετῇ 'under the heading of kindness' cfr. I. 126 *παράφρη δ' αὐτὸν ἐν ἀρετῇ ματος μένει*. Iant *die Propositionen bei den Attischen Rednern* p. 36. *καταλογιζέσθαι* 'to reckon,' 'to put down,' Isaeus 82 *καταλογίζεται τοῖσιν ὡς ἔγω πρὸς ἀληθείᾳ εἰληφώς* κ.τ.λ.

ὃς ἂν... πρῶτος ἀναβοήσῃ 'who shall have been the first to shout out.'

εἰ καλέσῃ Δημοσθένην 'whether he is to call Demosthenes.' The deliberative subjunctive retained with *εἰ* in *oratio obliqua*, on the dramatic principle, whereby the mood and tense which would have been used in direct discourse is retained. Cfr. 2 § 65 *παρορμήσει αὐτὸν ἄντις εἰ ἂν ἐπιφρονῇ τοὺς πρὸς ἑμὲ*. Herod. 6, 36 *ἔταλα δὲ Δελφὸς ἐπαγορεύει... εἰ παρὰ τὰ πρὸ προσέειπεν*. Ib. c. 86 *ἐπὶ μὲν ταῖς εἰς αὐτὸν τοῖς χρημασίμοις εἰ δὲ μὴ τὰ χρηματὰ ληστέας*. (Gundwin *Heads and Tenses* § 650.)

ἂν δ' ἄρα 'but if after all,' 'if by any chance,' cfr. §§ 163, 193. It answers to *καλῶτα μὲν αἰετοί*.

τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον. Demosthenes in the *de Cor.* § 9 gives a reason for not following the order of Aeschines' speech.

203 ἐγὼ δὲ, ὑπομνήσω ὑμᾶς. The sentence would naturally run 'in order to remind you I will tell you how I conducted my accusation,' but the place of the accusatio is taken by a rhetorical question. Cfr. Demosth. *de Cor.* §§ 126, 201.

πρότερον, that is 'before touching on the legal question.'

ἀφθονα δῆπου καὶ πολλά. Cobet would omit καὶ πολλά on the ground that *ἀφθονα* is stronger than *πολλά*.

ἢ πάντων γ' ἂν εἴην ἀπορώτατος 'or I must be the most helpless of mortals.'

πρῶτον §§ 13—31.

οὐδὲν προβαλλόμενον 'without taking any precautions to protect himself.' On the whole the present—which the mss. give—seems preferable to the aorist, as giving the state of the case generally; when one definite omission is meant he uses the aorist (*οὐδὲν προσεγγράψαντα*). For the word see Demosth. *de Cor.* 97, 195, 285, 300. It is a metaphor from holding the shield before one.

οὐδὲ προσεγγράψαντα 'and without even having added the saving clause.'

τὰς ἐσομένας προφάσεις 'the pretexts which are going to be set up' §§ 28—31.

204 δεύτερον δὲ... κηρυγμάτων §§ 32—50.

ὁ φεύγων τὴν γραφὴν 'the defendant on the indictment,' sc. Ctesiphon. For the phrase see on § 201.

οὐδ' ἐκκλησιαζόντων Ἀθηναίων 'and not even when the assembly is taking place,' i.e. in the Theatre. See De-

mosth. *Mid.* § 9 *ποιεῖν τὴν ἐκλογίαν ἐν Διορίστον*. The various theatres in Greek towns are often mentioned as places of assembly; but the Dionysian Theatre at Athens, though begun many years before, was always in a state of building until the administration of Lycurgus (b.c. 328 or 326), and perhaps therefore it was found inconvenient to have assemblies there more frequently than was necessary. See Plutarch, *X Orat. Lycurg.* 346 c; Hyperid. fr. xxxii.

μικρὰ μὲν περὶ τῶν ἰδίων §§ 51—3.

περὶ τῶν δημοσίων §§ 54—167. It is true that the formal attack upon Demosthenes' private character is brief compared to that upon his public career; but, on the other hand, it is more or less continuous throughout the speech by means of innuendoes and epithets; and is again and again resorted to, as in §§ 171—176.

205 οὕτω δὲ 'just in this way, then,'—a combination frequently used to sum up a series of preceding remarks. See on § 182.

τρίτον δὲ λέγω 'and thirdly (and this is the most important point) I am now engaged in showing that Demosthenes does not deserve the reward at all,—let alone the question of the illegality in its mode and time of bestowal. Aeschines uses the present *λέγω* here; for although, ever since § 51, this argument has been going on, it is not yet finished.

κατεπαγγελλόμενος 'confidently promising,' the *κατὰ* seems only to strengthen *ἐπαγγελλόμενος*, cp. § 123. In neither case does there seem any notion conveyed of doing it 'against anyone,'—which Mr Simcox tries to extract from it. Still there is a certain idea of exasperation and perhaps aggressiveness conveyed by it. Compare the use of *καταδύω* in Herodotus (3, 27; 6, 16; 8, 4, 69) which, though only a simple-minded form of *δύω*, yet generally conveys an idea of suspicion.

λύσει τὸ παράνομον 'that he will refute the charge of illegality,' 'that he will speak to the legal point,' § 167. Demosthenes in fact did not put this off to the end of his speech; it comes in the middle of *de Cor.* §§ 110—121.

πάλαισμα, δικαστηρίου 'a trick of the law-court,' 'a lawyer's feat.' The metaphor of course is from the wrestler's or boxer's arena, and is dwelt on further in the next section. These metaphors are frequent in Aristophanes. See *Eq.* 261 of proceedings in a law-court; and the expression *ἐχέω μύσας Eq.* 387; *Ach.* 571. Cp. *Nub.* 1047.

εἰσαυθὶς ποτὲ 'at any future time,' 'at any later period of his speech,' πρὸς τὸ παράνομον 'with reference to the question of illegality,' as we say 'to speak to a point.'

παρεμβολή 'by interpolating other matters,' 'by the insidious introduction of other things.' Cp. Demosth. *in Boeot. de date suae*, § 61 *ἐὰν δὲ ἂν ἔχω περὶ ἂν φείγῃ τὴν δικαστήν* *ἀφάρτως ἀσχετῶς παρατρέψαι*... *ἐτέρως παρὰ τὸν νόμον κακοργῶν*... *Διορίστην*, 1 § 106 *οὕτω σέβας τῶν τῶν δικαστῶν πολλὰ παρὰ τὸν νόμον ἐπὶ Διορίστῳ εἰρησιπύοντα*.

βούλεται 'he intends.'

206 περὶ τῆς στάσεως 'to get the best position.' Thus in Theophrastus (22, 83) Amyntas and Polydamas are represented as struggling for a long time each to secure such a position as to have the sun on his back:

ἔθ' αὖτε πάλιν σέβας μάχης ἐπιγυμνῶνται ἐπὶ τῇ ὁπότερῃ αὐτὰ πρὸς ἡλίου φῶς ἦλθον.

διαγωνιζόμενος, for the sake of *διδ* in such compositions see on *διαπολιτευόμενος* § 191.

περὶ τῆς τάξεως τοῦ λόγου 'as to the order of his speech,' i.e. the order in which he treats the arguments, as laid down in *de* 202—4. Demosthenes (*de Cor.* § 2) declares that the spirit of the laws and the jurors' oath is *τῇ τάξει καὶ τῇ ἀπολογίᾳ*, *ὡς ἡμετέροις καὶ τρηπῆται τῶν ἀγωνιστῶν ἐκαστος εἴτως εἶσθαι χρεῖσθαι*.

περίστασθαι 'to disengage himself out of the question of illegality,' the metaphor of the boxer trying to shift his ground to what suits him better is kept up. The Schol. says *περίστασθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ καταδύσθαι καὶ καταφύγειν*. Here it is not of conscious action, but it is more often employed to mean the result of circumstances, cp. Thucyd. 1, 78, 1 *ἀπὸ τῆς γῆρας (πόλεως) φεύει ἐς τὴν γῆρας τὰ πολλὰ περίστασθαι* 'for a war if prolonged generally becomes a matter of chaos.' So here it might be explained 'to become, as a result of his manoeuvres, outside the question of illegality.'

The mss. have *(ἐν τῷ) ἐπὶ τῷ παρανόμῳ (λόγῳ) περίστασθαι*. Tränkle omits the words bracketed. Two mss. omit *λόγῳ*, the Vatican and Laurentian; several omit *ἐν τῷ*.

ἐγκαθήμενοι, ἐνεδρεύοντες, εἰσελαύνετε, εἰς τοὺς λόγους seem to continue the metaphor from the arena; but it is not clear exactly how they do so. The two first both mean 'lying in ambush,' and if they are to be referred to the boxing ring must mean persons placed to watch that the combatants do not get outside the ground assigned; but *εἰσελαύνετε*, 'drive him back,' is a change of metaphor and refers to racing, and

the swerving out of the course, as in Arist. *Nub.* 25 φίλων, ἀδίκους ἐλάμβανεν τὸν σαυτοῦ δρόμον. Cp. 1, 176 ἐλπίσαν δ' ἔργον πρὸς ταῖτα ἀντιτεταχῆναι καὶ πανταχὺ παρὰ τὸν νόμον μὲν πλεονεκτεῖν, ἀλλ' ὡς περ ἐν ταῖς ἱπποδρόμοις εἰς τὸν τρεῖς πρὸς τρεῖς δρόμον ἀσελαίνετε.

τὰς ἐκτροπὰς αὐτοῦ τῶν λόγων 'his digressions from the (direct) issues.' Plato *Politicus* 267 ἀλλὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ νόμῳ τῶν λόγων, προσέειπεν τὴν ἐκτροπὴν αὐτοῦ τῶν λόγων. But it also here refers to the idea of 'shirking' or 'avoiding' shown in the verb μετατρέψαι, cp. Arist. *Polit.* 807 αἱ δ' ἐκτροπαὶ καὶ ἀλλὰ τὸν νόμον ἀντιτεταχῆναι.

207 τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον 'in the (wrong) way I have described,' i.e. allowing Ctesiphon to make a preliminary speech without touching on the legal issue, and then to call Demosthenes. See § 102. This was the ἀπολογία εὐδαιμονία to which the jury had not come into court to listen fully (ἀκροασόμενοι).

Great difficulty has been felt at explaining τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ as referring to something so far back; and some editors have proposed to read ἐκ μὲν τούτων κτλ. But the words ἀλλ' ἄδη συμβήσεται 'but what will really happen to you' indicate that he is returning to a point after a digression or rather amplification of details, which in this case appears to extend from ἐπὶ σαυτῷ καλῶς (§ 202) to the end of § 206.

ἐπεισάξει 'he will bring into court supernaturally,' as an additional actor on the stage. Cp. Polyb. 24, 8, 11, 23, 10, 11 ed. Hultsch. τούτῳ δ' ἡ τύχη δράμα κατὰ τὸν αἰθέρα καλεῖται ἐπεισάγει. § 153 τοὺς ἐπεισώμενους.

τὸν γόητα cp. § 137. βαλαντιοτόμον 'cutting.' Schell. ἀντὶ τοῦ τῶν ληστῶν. ἐκ μεταφορῆς τῶν ληστῶν τῶν τομῶν τῶν βαλάντιων κατὰ τὸν δασταζόντων, ἵνα ἐκτρέψῃ τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς. It has no definite reference here, but is a general allusion to Demosthenes' alleged dishonesty, § 173.

διατεμνυκῶτα τὴν πολιτείαν 'a man who has cut the constitution to pieces'—'has made havoc of the constitution' like a butcher, cp. Her. 2, 41 οὐδ' ἄρως καθάρῳ βίῳ διατεμνυμένη 'Ελλάς καὶ κατὰ γένεσται. The metaphor changes, just as in the case of ἐπὶ λαοῖς § 206. It is a strange and unexampled expression, and has been explained in various ways. (1) Horn explains it of a man *qui partes in civitate excidit*. But Aeschines means more,—that Demosthenes has ruined the constitution by his evil influences and illegal practices. (2) Wendner of bleeding the state and draining it of all strength—*und dem Staat das Mark auszusaugen*. But the meaning of διατεμνεν

is not this, and the explanation takes πολιτεία as equivalent to πᾶσι. Cp. Lord Byron's brutal epigram:

So He has cut his throat at last!—He! who?

The man who cut his country's long ago.

κλαίει. Aeschines refers to Demosthenes' tears in 2, 85 ὁ μὲν τῶν ἐπὶ τῷ νόμῳ ἀρτίως ἐνταῦθα Δημοσθένης.

μεταβαλλόμενος 'suddenly changing his tactics': it is a military word 'to turn round,' and then applied to change of purpose. Herod. 5, 75 αἰετὸς ἀλλοτὶ τε καὶ ἀπαλλοτρεῖται.

τοῖς ἔξω περιστηκόσι the spectators standing outside the space allotted for the jurors, witnesses etc., cp. 2, § 5 ἡ τῶν ἐκτὸς περιστηκῶν τῶν, οὐδ' αὖτε οἱ πλείστοι τῶν πολιτῶν πόρνεον, ἡ τῶν δικαστῶν ὄμιον. λοιδορεῖσθαι is to abuse or revile one as a person.

φάσκων, generally used with an idea of insincerity. Cp. Lyd. 10 § 9: 12 § 1, 31: 32 § 7. Demosthenes does not take the line which Aeschines here anticipates.

τοὺς ὀλιγαρχικοὺς 'the oligarchical party,' and so 'the party of disorder' see § 170.

ἐπ' αὐτῆς... διηριθμημένους 'who are really and truly distinguished as such'—'the undoubted and notorious oligarchs.' So Plato *Phaedr.* 273 π τὰς φωνὰς διαριθμησάσθαι 'to enumerate in different classes,' 'to distinguish under different categories.'

τὸ τοῦ κατηγοροῦ βῆμα 'the accuser's platform.' In the law courts there were two, furnished with seats, one for the accuser, the other for the defendant. Cp. Demosth. in *Olynthiaca* § 31 ἀφ' ἧς, ἡ ἀφ' ἧς διαστέλλεται, σιαντὴ ἐκείνη ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐτέρου πόρνεον. Thus like the *heta* in the *Pnyx* is called by Aristophanes (*Eccl.* 683) ὁ λίθος. Cp. § 257.

208 πρὸς τοῖς στασιαστικοῖς λόγους 'in answer to these arguments which are meant to produce party feeling.'

οὐκ ἂν ποθ' ἡ δημοκρατία κατέστη 'the democracy would never have become settled and quiet.' Cp. Arist. *Equit.* 865

ὅταν μὲν ἡ πόλις καταστῇ, λαμβάνουσιν αὐτὴν

ἐκ δ' αὖτε καὶ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν κινεῖται.

ἀφ' οὗ καὶ οὐ λαμβάνουσιν, ἢ τὴν πόλιν ταράττει.

νῦν δὲ 'but as it is.'

τὸ κάλλιστον ἐκ παιδείας 'the most glorious word which culture produces,' 'the fairest outcome of civilisation.' Aeschines is fond of coming expressions with ἐκ,—thus 1, 138 τὸ καλὸν ἐκ τῶν γραμματικῶν; αἰρεῖ § 150 τὸ ἐκ τῆς ἀληθείας αἰσχρὸν; 140 τὸ ἀλλοτρεῖται ἐκ τῆς πόλεως; 1, 79 αἱ ἐκ τῆς διατριβῆς ταύτης

'men of that way of life' (gamblers); L. 83 τὰς δὲ ἀπορροπῶν πλῆγας 'the soundest thrashing in the world.' 2, 168 τὰς δὲ διαδοχὰς ἐξέδους... ἐξέλαον 'I was on every succeeding expedition.' *Lucia Praeparationem* p. 54. For παιδεία see §§ 117, 260.

μὴ μνησικακεῖν. An amnesty for all offences committed during the year of anarchy (404-3) was part of the agreement come to on the fall of the Thirty. Xen. *Hell.* ii. 4, 38; Plutarch *Ath. c.* 7. The amnesty was well observed, although certain persons still suffered from partial ἀνασφαλίς, for instance those who had served in the cavalry under the Thirty. *Andoc. de Myst.* § 75; *Lysias* 16 § 4; 26 § 10; and every opportunity was taken to get rid of them, Xen. *Hellen.* 3, 1, 4.

ἐλκοποιεῖς 'rip up old sores.' So far from observing the amnesty, you do your best to remind everyone of old grievances. The word seems to be an ἀπαρ ληγ. Hesychius has ἐλκοποιῶν 'a blister.'

τῶν αὐθιμερόν λόγων 'the pleadings of to-day.' You care more for the result of to-day's speeches than for the welfare of the city. Many mss. have αὐθημέριον and some add. translate 'extemporary speeches,' but there seems no point in that. The meaning of αὐθιμερόν seems to be 'speeches the interest of which is but for to-day' in comparison with the lasting interests of the State. *Oratioes, quibus, quum habentur, phasisum ferunt, qui tamen cito perit, quum per-peritur, et eas in agendis servamus, ut non tunc infirmitatem.* Broml.

τὴν διὰ τῶν ὀρκῶν πίστιν 'the confidence which oaths of his can give.'

καταφυγάνη. See Voith s.v. καταφυγάνη.

ἀπομνημονεύσατε. See § 48 n. § 85.

πρὸς τοὺς αὐτοὺς violently objected to by Dindorf, and excluded from the text by Emble, Weidner and Susemihl. It is nonsense to say that 'a man expecting to be believed by the same audience must have a different audience.' Cobet also wishes to strike out ὡς αὐδότερον ἔστι Δημόφρονι ἐπιδόχῳ, but this is not so certain.

θεοὺς καινοὺς gods who did not hear the former oaths, and who do not punish perjury; for our gods know all things. A change of gods means a change in the providential arrangements of the universe. *Χρὴν δ' εἶπε ἄρτιος ἀπὸ παλαιὰ φέρεται ἢ ἐπὶ δευτέραις τοῖς ἄλλοις*—says the poem to Euripides. Eurip. *Hipp.* 160. *Μολ.* 402 ἄρκον δὲ φωνάζει πίστιν, αὐδ' ἔχον κατὰν | εἰ θεοὺς καινοὺς τοὺς τοῦ οὐκ ἀχαιεῖ | ἐπεὶ ἐνομοθέτη' εἰς ἐμ' οὐκ εἴσθες ὦν.

209 τοῦ τόνου τῆς φωνῆς. See Demosthenes' answer *de Cor.* § 280. For the difficulties which Demosthenes had to struggle with from a naturally defective voice and utterance, see Plutarch *Dem.* c. xi. 1 n. *X. Or.* 359 f. while Aeschines was κῶπρος (*Vit. X. Or.* 343 n), hence Demosthenes twits him with cultivating his voice (*περιπαρὰκλασὶ de Cor.* § 308).

περιγράψατε... ἀναπτήσομαι 'exclude me from all share in public affairs,—there is no place to which I can fly.' Cp. § 226 ἀποκομμηθέντας ἐκ τῆς πολιτείας. The metaphor of περιγράψατε seems to be from the notion of drawing a line or bracket round a name to cancel it. If Demosthenes said this, he must mean that the condemnation of Ctesiphon would be practically his own ruin as a statesman, though in form it would not affect him. For the protasis and apodosis represented by an imperative and future indicative cp. Hom. *Il.* xxiii. 71 θάπτει με, ὅττι τοχόστει, πολὺς Ἄδων περιήτω. Sometimes with εἰ, as Plat. *Theatet.* 145 c ἂν εἴη, καὶ εἴη. It is a rhetorical way of expressing 'If you exclude me, I shall have no place to fly to.' Donald. *Or. Or.* § 201. Weidner writes περιγράψατε and omits ἐκ τῆς πολιτείας. But the first would not be true before the verdict, and the latter alteration seems to be for the worse, and is against all mss. but one.

ποῖαν... ποῖα generally used when the insinuation is that the things referred to are non-existent or not to be thought of in the circumstances. Arist. *Top.* 62 ποῖαν βασιλείαν; *Sub.* 367 ποῖος Ζεύς; αἱ μὲν Ἀθηναῖς; οὐδ' ἔστι Ζεύς. *ib.* 247 ποῖος ἔστι Ζεύς; ποῖος γὰρ θεὸς ἦν; ἡμῶν ἐστὶν οὐδ' ἔστι. *Soph.* *Ant.* 1189

ποῖος γὰρ εἴπω ἄντ' ἐς βασιλῆα;
ποῖος δ' εἴπω, εἴθην οὐ καλῶμεναι
πρὸς αἰὲν ἔστω' ἀπὲρ τῆς σιωπῆς;

τί προβαλλόμενος... πεπολίτευσαι 'What provision for the safety of the people has accompanied your political measures?' Grammatically ἐπὶ δόμῳ is connected with πεπολίτευσαι, and one ms. has a second τ; τῶν πεπολίτευσαι which Weidner retains. It is a case in which the participle and verb seem to change places, the principal idea being contained in the participle. Cp. § 227; *Thucyd.* I. 19 αἱ μὲν Λακωνικοὶ οὐχ ἔποισ' αὖς ἔχοντες φῶναι τοὺς ἐμαχῶντες ἡμίετο. *Madv. G. Syst.* § 176 b. For the meaning of προβαλλόμενος see *Dem. de Cor.* § 30 τῶν προβαλλόμενῶν ἐγὼ πρὸ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ὅταν δὲ ἀπὸ μνηστῶν λογιστῶν ὁμαρτῶν, καὶ ταῖς ἐπειτα τῆς χάραρ, οὐχὶ τὴν ἐκλογὴν τοῦ Περικλέους αὐδὲ τοῦ Ἀστίου. Cp. supr. §§ 84, 203.

ἐκλιπὼν μὲν ἐν Πειραιεὶ πόλεως 'in leaving the city you are not really, as you give out, residing in the Piræus, but are in fact starting on a voyage from the city.' He means that the

object of Demosthenes residing in his house in the Piræus was to be able to escape by sea at any moment; which indeed may have been quite true. From Democritus in *Deon.* 69 it appears that Demosthenes had a house both in the Asfy and in the Piræus.

τὸ βασιλικὸν χρυσίον. See § 173.

210 ὅλως 'at all' τί... τίς 'to what purpose?' τόνος τῆς φωνῆς, cp. Dem. *de Cor.* § 280.

ὁ δ' ἀγὼν οὐκ ἀτίμητος. The two last words must be taken close together, and the clause be held to depend on the *οὐκ* (*nonne*) in the line above. 'And the suit—is it not one in which damages are to be assessed?' (οὐκ ἀτίμητος = τιμητός.) Bionni and Simcox try to explain this by saying that if the suit was to be assessed by the jury Ctesiphon might hope that they would take his assessment rather than that of his opponent, i.e. would take the merciful view. But in that case it was surely no matter of surprise that the orator should exert himself to avoid conviction. If the words are to stand they may mean: 'this is not the time for all this excitement and zeal; restrain them for the speeches on the *εὐλογία*.' But perhaps it is better to omit the words as Weimer does.

περὶ τοῦ σώματος 'for your freedom.' Cp. Lys. 5 § 1 *εἰ μὲν περὶ ἄλλου τινὸς ἢ τοῦ σώματος κάλλους ἀγωνίστητο* κ.τ.λ. 23 § 12 *εἰ εἰς τὴν ἐστὶν δουλίαν ἐλάσσει ἐγκλησάμενος κατωστήσας περὶ τοῦ σώματος ἀγωνίσασθαι*—*scilicet* like Lat. *erant* included a man's civil status. Not that Ctesiphon's *freedom* was at stake.

ἐπιτιμίας the opposite of ἀτιμίας, 'the possession of full citizen rights,' cp. *de Cor.* § 15 *οὐδαμῶς δ' ἐπὶ ταύτῃ ἀπειρησίας ἐστὶ τῆς ἐτέρας ζητῶν ἐπιτιμίας ἀφαιλέσθαι φιλοῦται*. A man thrice convicted of *παράνομα* was *ἀτιμίας*, but he might also become so by failing to pay a fine imposed upon him, and Aeschines had laid the penalty at the impossible sum of 50 talents.

ἡ σπουδή, cp. Dem. *de Cor.* § 5 *οἷμαι δ' οὐκ ἔστιν πᾶσι, ὡς ἂν ἴδωμεν Ἀθηναίῳ, ἀν' ὁμοθυμαδὸν κινεῖν εἰς αὐτὸν τὴν ἀγῶνι αἰσὶ καὶ Κτησιφῶντι καὶ οὐδὲν ἑταίρου ἀνὴρ σπουδῆς ἔχει*.

211 ὃν ἐχρῆν 'and this by a man who ought to have come forward and said.' The relative is thus used without definite antecedent to refer to a person to whose conduct the preceding clauses apply. See Lysias 7 § 23 *δεικνύμενα δὲ πᾶσι*—*scilicet* *ὡς εἰ μὴν πιστεύοιτο αὐτοῦ τὴν αἰτίαν ὡς ἔχειν πιστοῦν ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ εἴσιν αὐτῷ, εἰς αὐτὴν τὴν ἡμίανται χρόναι γινέσθαι*. Cp. id. 13 § 86.

ἐπὶ τοιαύτης ἀκαιρίας 'in such unfortunate circumstances,' 'at such an unpropitious time,' i.e. when the state is in such

distress and despair as in the period after the battle of Chaeroneia. ἀκαιρία (1) 'difficulty' Dem. *Olynth.* 1 § 24 *ἀκαιρίαν τῆς ἐκείνου καιρῶν ὁμότητος κορίσσαντες*, (2) active, 'unseasonableness' 'want of consideration for the circumstances of the case.' Theophr. *Char.* 12.

ἐν ᾧ τὸ κήρυγμα γίγνεται 'enibleria sequitur et ex sententia non idem et ex imperatoria sede,' Codet. Weidner, on the other hand, thinks the words cannot be spared, for it was by the proclamation of the decree that the ἀκαιρία was first made conspicuous. There seems no reason to depart here from the text.

ἐκέλευτο 'went into mourning,' lit. 'cut the hair; joined with *πρόσθε* in [Lysias] *Epitaph.* 70 *ὡς τ' ἄλλων ἦν ἐπὶ τῷ ταφῇ τὸ καὶ κεῖναι τῇ ἑλλάδι καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐκείνῃ κειμένων*.

μετ' ἀρετῆς 'with virtuous motives,' cp. Andoc. *Myst.* § 20 *ὅπως δὲ ἂν ἡμεῖς Εὐφρόνητον... μετ' ἀρετῆς ἀλλ' οὐ μετὰ κακίας*.

κάθαρμα 'a worthless abominable wretch,' see on Dem. *de Cor.* § 128; Aristoph. *Lys.* 1144; *Idem.* 734.

212 μὰ Ἡρακλέα. Aeschines appears to swear by Hercules here, as the emblem of that manhood which Demosthenes lacked.

διαφέρων § 178.

διαχρήσθαι. Demosthenes is no Ajax to kill himself for shame and mortification at missing the prize of valour.

ὅς 'a man who' *quippe qui ita ferit*, see § 211. Lysias 7 § 15, *πολλὰς γὰρ αὖ καὶ μεγάλας θανάτους γυναικας ἀποκτείνουσι*—*scilicet* *ὡς πρῶτον μὲν αὐτῶν ἡμέραν ἐξέσπταν τὸν σῆμα κ.τ.λ.*

τῆς πρὸς ὑμᾶς φιλοτιμίας 'of honour in your eyes,' i.e. as to whether he gains your approval or no.

ὑπεύθυνον §§ 13—31. Demosthenes was *ὑπεύθυνος* when the indictment was laid, but not when the speech was delivered.

οὗτος Ctesiphon.

μυριάκις 'repeatedly,' an instance of extravagant rhetorical exaggeration. κατατέμηνκε 'has wounded,' as though Demosthenes inflicted the wounds on himself, a charge more than once repeated by Aeschines. See on § 51; 2 § 93.

τούτων sc. τραυμάτων.

κατακεκονδύλισται 'has been so soundly pommelled.' The word does not occur elsewhere, and even *κακύνειν* and *κακύνεσθαι* are remarked upon as peculiar by Pollux (8, 76) who

says that they were used by Hyperboides. Weidner remarks on it as an example of the *σφοδρότης* of the orator, comparing §§ 207, 208, 209.

Μειδίου, see n. on § 32.

πρόσοδον 'a source of revenue.' He makes an income out of having his head beaten. Cp. Plutarch *Nic.* 1 καὶ ὅπως πρόσσοδος ἦν αὐτῷ τοῖς το πικρῶς ἢ διὰ καὶ τοῖς χρηματικῶς ἢ φιλανθρωπία i.e. 'the bad made an income out of Nicomachus' brutality, and the good out of his generosity.' Demosth. *F. L.* § 1, 46. [Westermann conjectured a sentence containing two parts αὐτὸ κεφαλὴν ἀλλὰ κεφαλῶν, οὐ προσωποῦν ἀλλὰ προσώπων ἐκτείνεται, the first part having been first suggested by Popp. Weidner prints this in his edition of 1878. It seems a pity that Aeschines had not had one of these scholars at his side on the Bema.]

§§ 213–214 As for Ctesiphon himself you may judge by what he and Demosthenes go about saying of each other: Ctesiphon that his only danger lies in the corrupt public character of Demosthenes. Demosthenes that his lies in the vile private character of Ctesiphon. *Arades arde.*

213 κἂν μή τις προείπη 'even without warning from any one.'

κατ' ἀμφοτέρων αὐτῶν 'in regard to this precious pair.' κατὰ with the gen. does not necessarily mean 'against,' see § 50; but it may be, and more often is, used with a sense of depreciation.

περιέρχονται τὴν ἀγορὰν 'go about the agora.' The agora was the daily lounge of the Athenians, where public and private matters were discussed, and suits before the courts or coming before them were specially the subject of conversation. It was looked upon, in fact, as discreditable not to be interested in the public business. Thus in Lysias *Thom.* § 11 the speaker reproaches his opponent with never having taken the trouble to go even to the Areopagus when the court was sitting (πρὸ βουλῆς καὶ μαλακίας. See Plut. *Sol.* 20).

214 ιδιώτης, cf. §§ 3, 114. He has no official position which can be affected by the verdict, and he hopes the jury will treat him with indulgence as a plain man, not versed in legal affairs.

τὴν ἐμπληξίαν 'his instability.' Cp. 2 § 164 ἀεὶ ὡς ἂν καὶ πολλὰς ἐμπληξίας, εἰ πεπρωμένως πρὸς τὴν ἀπὸ πολλῶν παρὰ λαὸν ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ τοῖς Ἕλλησι.

εἰς αὐτὸν μὲν ἀποβλέπων 'when his view is confined solely to himself.' For ἀποσπένειν to turn from everything due to one

object, cp. § 230. See Dem. *de Cor.* 210 ὁὐδὲ δὲ κλέων... τὰς κοινὰς προτάσεις εἰς τὰ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀντικείμενα ἀποβλέποντες 'with a single view to.'

οἱ κοινὸι κριταὶ 'men who are impartial judges,' cp. Dem. *de Cor.* § 7 (ed. a juror) παρασχέτω ταῦτόν τινος καὶ κατὰ ἀμφοτέρους ἀρεστή. Here, if the juror listens impartially to both, he will form a decided opinion against each of the parties on the allegation of the other, § 51.

§§ 215–220 A defence of his own character, and a counter-picture of that of Demosthenes.—Demosthenes will attack me, not for my public acts alone, but for my frequent abstention from public business. That abstention was the result of modesty, not of a desire to avoid myself of favourable opportunities. Demosthenes was only quiet when he was paid to be so, and only loud when his fire was exhausted. In a democracy an honest citizen will only speak when he sees it to be expedient, the busy body and hireling on every possible occasion (215–220). Then he will twit me with never having prosecuted him before. Does he think the people have forgotten my attacks upon him in the matter of the Amphissian war, his corruption in Lubea, and his peculation as president of the navy fund? Or how it was under a threat of impeachment from me that he turned so basely upon Anaxinus; and how when reproached publicly by me for that wickedness he made his famous defence about 'his country's salt?' (220–225). He will reproach me with being too late to assist my dying country.—it was he that corruptly depoliced it of its citizens, and only escaped punishment because his fellow-citizens after the fatal battle had other more pressing business on their hands (225–227). I am a Suen, according to him, whose song brings death. Such a reproach might perhaps have come from a man who, though unversed in speech, was a brave general. But from him! A man of words and empty sound, who, take away his tongue, is as useless as a pipe without a mouth-piece! (228–229).

215 πυνθάνομαι. See on § 189.

δημιουργὸς λόγων 'a professional manufacturer of speeches.' Another thing at Demosthenes as a professional λογογράφος. See § 200 τεχνίτης λόγων.

216 τὴν ἡσύχίαν μου. See Dem. *de Cor.* §§ 198, 308. τόπος 'point' or 'topic.' The word is not used by Demosthenes in this sense. But see Boer, *Phil.* § 169 περὶ τοῖναι Ἡρακλέους ὁμοῦ καὶ τῶν ἰδίων καὶ περὶ πᾶσαν ἀναμνηστικῶν... πᾶντα δὲ τὰς ἀμφοτέρων ἀντικείμενα ἀποβλέποντες. Here § 38 καὶ δὲ οὐδὲ δὲ ἀποβλέποντες πρὸς τὸν αὐτὸν τῶν διατρεφόντων.

ἀσυκοφάντητος 'untouched by his venom and malignant tongue.' Another word apparently of Aeschines' coinage.

τὰς ἐν τοῖς γυμνασίοις διατριβάς. For the discredit attached to this, see I § 135. Also the law quoted in I § 12 αἱ γυμνασιαρχαὶ τὰς ἑκαταμῶν μὴ ἀπώσαν συγκαθελθεῖν οὐδὲνα τῶν ἐν γυμνασίοις τῶν μὴ ἐπὶ τῇ ἐπιτροπῇ καὶ τῇ ἐκείνῃ τοῦ γυμνασίου, ὅσοις ἐπὶ τῷ ὁ γυμνασιαρχὴν τῶν τῆς ἐλευθερίας φωνῆς εἶναι. But the gymnasia, in spite of this law, were much frequented, partly by the idle and frivolous (see Theophrastus *Char.* xxi. the fool is wont τῶν γυμνασίων ἐν ταῖς διατριβαῖς, αἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ γυμναστικῇ, partly by the sapienter: Plato *Enthyd.* 271; *Lysis.* 204. The three great gymnasia at Athens were the Lyceum, Cynosarges and Academiā. Demosthenes does not mention anything of the sort in his speech, so that Aeschines had been mistaken, and we may say *hinc s' accipere s' accipere*.

κατὰ τῆσδε τῆς κρίσεως 'in regard to this trial,' see §§ 50, 213.

εὐθὺς ἀρχόμενος τοῦ λόγου 'at the very beginning of his speech.' The complaint against Aeschines of starting from motives of personal spite, and not on public grounds, is not made early in the speech. See *de Cor.* § 279, τῶν αἰσχροῦ λόγου ἀναλασκῆς ἰδίᾳ ἔχθρας καὶ φθόνου καὶ μακροφρονίας ἐπὶ σήμειον, αἰσχροῦ χυμῶτος.

ἐνδεικνύμενος ἔχθραν 'by way of carrying favour with Alexander, owing to his dislike to himself (Demosthenes).' ἐνδεικνύμενος 'making a display' with a special reference to the person before whom it is made. *Dem. de Fals. Leg.* § 160 οὗτοι δ' ἐχθροὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ τῇ ἐχθρῇ (sc. ἐχθρῇ) καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ ἐχθρῇ ἐκείνῃ.

217 καὶ νῦν Δ', the usual formula for introducing a quotation from an opponent.

διὰ τὸ ἐγγραφόμενον 'why I now denounce his policy as a whole, while I did not try to hinder or improve it in detail?' *Dem. de Cor.* §§ 13, 22, 117, 124, 191, 242 and other places. Demosthenes naturally recurs to the point often, for it is a strong one. If he was ruining the state by his policy, and Aeschines knew it, his silence then must necessarily cast great suspicion on his rhetoric now. And Aeschines' anticipatory retort is feeble and shuffling to the last degree.

διαλειπὼν 'at wide intervals of time,' 'intermittently.' The fuller expression is used in § 89 μετὰ διαλείπων χρόνον.

διατριβάς 'habits,' 'ways of spending one's time.' cp. p. 216, *Lys.* 16 § 11 περὶ λόγου ἢ πότους, διατριβῆς ποικίλων.

Andoc. 4 § 22 αἱ τῶν νεῶν διατριβαὶ ὡς ἐν γεωμετρίας ἀλλ' ἐν ἐλευθερίᾳ εἶναι.

βουλοίμην. Supply *εἰ* from next clause.

οὔτε τὰ αὐτὰ ἐδεξάμην ἂν ζῆν 'and I would rather have died than delivered such public speeches as he made.' Cp. I. 55 τὰς ἐγὼ λέγουσας ἐν ὑμῖν εἶπα ὡς ἂν ἐδεξάμην ζῆν.

218 ἡ τοῦ βίου μετριότης 'my modest way of life.' I was not living extravagantly, and therefore did not need to put myself forward in politics, and make those gains which mediocrity politicians like yourself make. See on § 173 for the sort of profits accruing to politicians.

ἀσχροῦς, grammatically belonging to ἐπὶ τῷ, in sense qualities ἀσχροῦς 'larger gains made dishonestly.'

βουλευσάμενος 'after deliberation,' 'when I have made up my mind.'

τῆς ἐν τῇ φύσει δαπάνης 'not under the compulsion of nature's necessities.' ἐν τῇ φύσει is another of Aeschines' compound adjectives, see on § 208 ἐκ παλαιάς.

λαβὼν κέκραγας. See *Dem. de Cor.* § 82 ὁ βλαπτομένην περὶ ἐμοῦ καὶ λέγων ὡς σιωπῶν ἀνελάβην, θωὴ δ' ἀναλῶτος. Corat would change ἐκείνους to εἰς, 'Sciolus noscitur quibus κέκραγας perfectum esse ratus utrumque verbum exaequavit sonnet.' But the reference to Demosthenes' entire past is perhaps better given by the perfect, while the present sense of κέκραγας is in place at the moment as anticipating the speech so soon to come. Cp. τίς ἡ κραυγὴ; *K.T.A.* § 210. One ms. has στήλας.

οἱμισθοδοταὶ 'your pay-masters,' referring particularly perhaps to the king of Persia, whose gold had been sent to Corat to keep up a party against Alexander, §§ 173, 209, 239; but he means also to repeat the general charge of corruption and venality on which he has been so long harping.

ἃ παραχρήμα for ἐνδεῶς δ'. 'But you are not ashamed of making those boasts which are at once convicted of falsehood.' But 'in regard to which you are etc.'

219 ἐνδείξεως, § 216.

οὕτω σοῦ τὸ περὶ Πausanίαν. Plutarch, *Dem.* 22 ἐγὼ μὲν οὕτω κρῖνα τὴν τοῦ Φιλίππου τελευτὴν ὁ Δημοσθένης, προκαταλαβάντες δὲ τὰ θαρρὲν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀλλοτρίᾳ τοῦ Ἀθηναίου προσηλθεῖν εἰς τὴν βουλὴν ὡς ἄνθρωποι, ἀπ' οὗ τι μέγα προσέδοσαν Ἀθηναίους ἀγαθόν· καὶ μετ' οὗ πολὺ παρήσαν οἱ τὸν Φιλίππου θάνατον ἀπαγγέλλοντες. Cp. § 77. Philip was killed in the summer of B.C. 336; the original motion of Ctesiphon, followed immediately by a notice of a γραφὴ παραδομῶν, was in B.C. 337.

πρὸς Ἀθηναίαν... διειλεγμένον. We know nothing of this part of the story, or whether Demosthenes had really professed to have had supernatural communication. Weidner supposes Aeschines to bring in the names of the goddesses merely to heighten the comic effect.

προενεδεικνύμην 'how then can I have been (as he alleges) showing off by anticipation to Alexander?' i.e. because when I gave my notice I did not know of Philip's death. This double compound does not seem to occur elsewhere.

εἰ γε μὴ... introducing an absurd or impossible proposition: 'unless it had opportunely happened that Demosthenes and I had had the same dream.'

220 καὶ τὴν ἀξίωσιν... πολιτείας 'and you think that it will not be noticed that, in enunciating this maxim, you are applying a principle borrowed not from democracy but from some other polity.' The maxim is that a man should be forced to speak. Schol. τὸ πᾶσι τὸ αἶμα εἶναι δεῖν εἰ ἀνάγκη ἔσται καὶ αὐτὸν πολιτευσάτω. The word ἀνάγκη is not used elsewhere by the orators; but cf. Thucyd. ii. 88, 301 αὐτοὺς ἀναγκασθῆναι ἐκ πολλοῦ ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀναγκὴν ταύτην ἀδελφίσαν. By ἐτέρας πολιτείας is to be understood oligarchy, in which an *aristoi* class or caste would do all the business, as opposed to a democracy in which every citizen would have the right to take his part freely and only when he chose.

ὁ βουλόμενος. Demosth. *de Cor.* §§ 170, 180. Aristoph. *Ach.* 45; *Plut.* 917. The inalienable right of every citizen to speak in the assembly, or to bring charges there and in the law courts, is expressed by this phrase, here opposed to ἀδικεῖν, the official or man in office in an oligarchy.

διὰ χρόνου 'intermittently,' 'at intervals,' as ἀλλοτεῖαι above.

ἐπὶ τῶν καιρῶν καὶ τοῦ συμφέροντος 'when the hour has come and the interest of the state demands it.' Cf. Dem. *in Aristocr.* § 105 ἐπὶ καὶ τοῖς αἰσίοις ἐπὶ δὲ αἰσίοις καὶ καὶ ἐν αἰσίοις.

ἐργαζομένου 'of one who makes a trade of it.' Cf. Dem. *in Aristocr.* § 82 αὐτὸν ἐν κρίσει καὶ ἀγῶνι καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἀσπασίμοις ἀπαιτῶν εἶναι βούλεται τὰς γὰρ ἀπαιτήσεις ταύτας ἐργάζεσθαι.

221 ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ ὑποσχέσθαι 'and as to his never having been brought to trial by me or subjected to the punishment of his crimes.' Dem. *de Cor.* §§ 12-16; 251. Weidner in his ed. 1878 reads περὶ. For ὑπὲρ see on Demosth. *de Cor.* § 9. κεκρίσθαι 'to have been brought to trial.' Cf. Demosth. *de Cor.* § 13, *in Mithr.* § 207.

σαυτὸν παραλογίζει 'you are deceiving yourself.' παραλογίζεσθαι (I) 'to falsify accounts,' 'to make a deliberately false reckoning,' in Isom. *c. Arch.* A § 29 with acc. of the money: in *c. Spondaia* § 30, (2) 'to deceive,' with acc. of person deceived τοῖς δ' ἑδωκας αὐτῷ τρεῖς χίλια δ' ἑκατὸν ἐπὶ αὐτῷ παραλογίσασθαι. Cf. 2 § 128, ἔλεον γὰρ ὅτι μετὰ τὴν πόλιν παραλογίζεται.

τὰ περὶ τοὺς Ἀμφισσέας ἡσεβημένα, §§ 125-127. According to Aeschines the *deipnosa* was that *οὐκ ἔα μεταστῆναι τῶν ὁρκῶν, οὐδ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν προέστοι ἀφασαν, οὐδὲ τῆς ἀπ' αὐτῶν τοῦ θεοῦ μαρτυρίας*.

τὰ περὶ τὴν Εἰβοίαν. See §§ 85-95; 102-105. Aeschines really fails to answer the taunt that he had never prosecuted Demosthenes. He only says here, as in § 125, that he dismissed him *ἐκαστὸς ἐκαστὸν ἑαυτοῦ ἐκλογώμενος*; but for one statesman to speak against another in the assembly, however strongly, is a very different thing from impeaching him.

χρόνων ἐγγεγεννημένων ἐν οἷς 'because certain periods of time have elapsed since you were publicly denounced by me.' Demosth. *Demosten.* § 2, πάντων ἀπολαύων εὐνοίας παρ' αὐτὰ τέλει πάντα μύλλων ἢ χρόνον ἐγγεγεννημένων ἀγακτεῖν. ἐν οἷς (χρόνοι) cf. Lucr. *Hyp.* 375, ἥδη ποτ' ἐν μακρῷ χρόνῳ.

222 ὅτε νομοθετήσας περὶ τῶν τριακοσίων. See Demosth. *de Cor.* § 102. Demosthenes was *ἐπιστάτης τοῦ ναυαγίου* in B.C. 340, and carried a reform of the law as to triarchies, whereby the members of the *symmories* contributed according to the value of their taxable property. The 300 are the *ἡγεῖνες τῶν συμμοριῶν*. See *de Cor.* § 171. The law of Demosthenes was against the interests of the rich who were by it compelled to contribute more largely, and who according to him offered him large bribes to amend or drop it (*de Cor.* § 103), and actually did pay Aeschines, he says, to introduce amendments which spoiled it (*de Cor.* § 312). It is no wonder then, as it affected powerful interests, that it should have formed the point of attack to his enemies. Thus Demetrius (*in Dem.* § 42) asserts that Demosthenes had three talons for introducing various modifications in it *ἐκ τῶν ταλῶν ἑκάστη μετέγραψε καὶ μετεκείνη τὸν νόμον καὶ αὐτὸν ἐνέδραμον*. Greek morality as to money was so loose, that it is impossible to feel certain as to either speaker having accepted or refused payment in the course of the controversy. But the law on the whole had acted well, and the present accusation, that Demosthenes had deprived the city of the services of 65 triarchs, is evidently only a maliciously coloured account of his reforms, which may have lessened the number of triarchs while distributing the burden more equitably. Grote xi. p. 270. Schaefer ii. p. 452.

Πόλλιν. The Athenians under Chabrias defeated a Peloponnesian fleet off Naxos, which, under the command of the Spartan admiral Pollis, was cruising in the Aegean to cut off their corn ships. September B.C. 376. In the battle 18 Athenian ships were disabled. Xen. *Hell.* 5. 4. 61; Diodor. 15. 34-5; Demosth. *in Lept.* § 77; Grote ix. p. 345; Thirlwall v. p. 49. Pollis had been ἐπιστάτης, or second in command of the fleet, in B.C. 393, and by him Plato is said to have been sold as a slave in Aegina. [Schol. *περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης λέγει ἐν τῷ ἐπὶ τῶν τεσσάρων ὅτι αὐτοῦ ἐπῆλθε Πλατῶνα.* Xen. *Hell.* 5. 4. 61; Olynth. *rit.* *Dem.* 3.] The cause of celebrating their colours, which helped to give the Athenian fleet the victory at Naxos, is related by Polyanius *Stator.* 3. 11, 11.

ναυμαχίαν Λακεδαιμονίους ἐνίκησαν. For construction see § 181.

223 ταῖς αἰτίαις 'by the charges which you bring.'

ἐνέφραξας 'you have said,' 'stated.' Properly 'to have said' 'to stop up.' Cp. Lycurg. p. 165, § 124 ἀπαύρις αἰς αἰτίαις τῶν ἀδικημάτων ἐνέφραξεν.

τοῖς ἐπεξιούσι 'your prosecutors,' or, Demosth. *Hell.* 147 (a mistake) ἐπεξῆν τοῦ φόνου τῶν Ἀριστοκρατῶν. Aeschines II. § 93, οὐκ ἐπέβαν τῇ τῶν τριήματος γραφῇ.

πολὺν μὲν φέρων 'promising to bring in the names of Alexander and Philip into your vindictive speech.' § 215. Cp. the use of *multas* Verg. *Aen.* 4. 3.

τὸ παρὸν λυμαινόμενος 'injuring the advantage of the present, while you make futile promises for the future.' Simcox seems wrong in translating λυμαινόμενος 'injuring,' or, Dem. *de Cor.* §§ 303, 312. For κατεπαγγελλόμενος see § 205. He means that Demosthenes anticipated or discounts the future with large promises which come to nothing.

τὴν Ἀναξίνου σίλληψιν. This story is only known from this place, and from Plutarch who seems to have taken it from one orator. Aeschines here says or insinuates that Anaxinus of Oreus was in Athens on the harmless mission of making purchases for Olympias, the mother of Alexander; that Demosthenes entertained him and was believed to have been intriguing with the Macedonian court by his agency; but on being threatened with impeachment by Aeschines he turned on Anaxinus, accused him of being a spy, superintended his torture, and secured his execution. Plutarch *rit.* *Dem.* in *X Or.* 848 (where however the MSS. give the name as Anaxilus) says [Ἀναξίμου] δὲ καὶ Ὁμήρου λέγει αὐτοῦ γιγνώσκειν συλλαβὰς εἶναι σαφὲς ὡς κατέστησε, οὐδὲν δὲ εἰρηπαικὲς ἐγγράματοι τοῖς ἑσέοις

παραδοῖναι. Demosthenes on the other hand (*de Cor.* 137) asserts that Aeschines had corrupt dealings with him; and assumes that he was a spy of Philip's. See Schaefer ii. p. 494, who thinks that the execution of Anaxinus shows that there was grave evidence against him; and refers the action of the Athenians to their anxiety at the time as to the destination of the Macedonian fleet. The execution of Anaxinus appears to have taken place in B.C. 342/1. κατασκευάσας. § 95.

Ὀλυμπιάδι. Olympias, wife of Philip II. and mother of Alexander the Great, was a daughter of Neoptolemus I. king of Epirus. She was married soon after B.C. 360, and had two children, Alexander and Cleopatra, and after many violent quarrels with her husband, finally left him in B.C. 337, on his marrying Cleopatra the niece of Attalus, and remained with her brother Alexander, king of Epirus, till Philip's death in B.C. 336. She survived until B.C. 316, when after many vicissitudes she was taken by Cassander and condemned to death by an assembly of Macedonians for numerous acts of violence during the contests which followed the death of her son.

224 δις στρεβλώσας. One MS. B has διαστρεβλώσας which both Franke and Weidner (1878) adopt. Bekker has διαστρεβλώσας 'you tortured him after having secured his condemnation to death.' But this would have been a piece of needless cruelty, and almost beyond what exaggerated animosity could surely attribute to Demosthenes. The object of such torture was to extort disclosure from a supposed spy or traitor, see Herod. 8. 110. The misteetes sent to Xerxes men ποσὶ ἐπίστανται σιγῇ ἐς πάντας θάνατον ἀπαιτοῦντες. Still torture as a mere punishment was not unknown in Greece, and became alarmingly frequent in the case of political offenders in a later age. For instances see Polyb. 2. 39; 4. 18; 40. 5 (39, 11). Cp. Mahaffy, *Social Life in Greece*, p. 241; *Greek Life and Thought*, p. 537.

τῇ σαντοῦ χειρί. Simcox supposes that Demosthenes was merely present to take down evidence. Aeschines however charged him with putting his hand to the τρέχον.

παρὰ τῷ αὐτῷ ποιούμενος 'and at this same man's house in Oreus you were wont to stay, and you ate and drank and poured libations at the same table with him, and struck your right hand in his—thereby adopting him as a friend and guest.' Eating and drinking and sharing in the libation were always looked upon as involving a certain mutual obligation; especially the last (σπονδή) as being a religious rite. Cp. Dem. *de Cor.* § 287, ποσὶ καὶ ὁπολαύσαντες τὰν ἑρμῆν ἐπὶ ταῖς τετρατηκτοῖς καὶ τῇ ἑγείρῃ εὐαγγέλιον καὶ ἀντιπαραρῆμα μὴ διδασκόμενος γιγνώσκοντες τοῖς πρὸς ἐσέοις παρὰ

ταῖσ' αἰσάνοις. Herod. 9, 16, ἐπεὶ οὖν ἀποστρέψας τὸ πρὸς καὶ ἐκαστὸν ἐγένετο, μεταστρέψας τοὺς γυνῶνας τῆς ἐκείνης καταλυσθῆναι ἐκέλευε, ἵνα καὶ παῖδες αὐτῶν περὶ σκευῶν φιλοτιμήσιν ἔχουσιν τὰ σκευήματα. For the ceremony of the libation see Becker's *Charicles* p. 330. Plato, *Symposium*, 176. The appeal to a man πρὸς τῆς ἐξουσίας is common in tragedy, see, for instance, Eurip. *Hipp.* 605, καὶ πρὸς σε τῆσδε ἐξουσίας ἐθέλω. Soph. *Philoct.* 1318, ἃ δ' ἔσσης καὶ δέξιος ἐμῆς δίχου. For ἐνέβαλες cp. Soph. *Trach.* 1181, ἐνέβαλλε χεῖρα ἐκείνῳ πρωτοστάτην. Phil. 813, ἐνέβαλλε χεῖρὸς πίστιν. 'Εμφέλλω μνησίν. The words ἀνδρὰ φίλον καὶ ξένον ποιούμενος are omitted by Weidner, because they look like a gloss or explanation of a sentence which would be familiar to the audience. But it is dangerous to emend the orators by cutting out all that seems superfluous. The object is to heighten the enormity of Demosthenes' proceedings, and to do so every detail is dwelt upon at length.

ξυνοκτόνος 'guest-murderer,' one of the worst of crimes. In Herod. 2, 115 the King of Egypt is represented as saying to Paris πρὸς πολλὰ ἄγγρα καὶ ἐπικατασκευαί. For guests like suppliants were under the protection of Zeus ἑξέως, see Herod. *Odyss.* 9, 270, Ζεὺς ἐπιτηδεύων ἱεράων τε καὶ ἐκείνων τε ἑξέως. Artemis directs her shafts εἰς αἰθέρα πόλιν, ἃ τὸ πρὸς γένους ἀνθρώπων πρὸς ἀνθρώπων, Callim. *Hymn* 3, 123.

ἀπεκρίνου ἐφ' ᾧ 'you made an answer which called forth a shout of indignation from the people, as well as such laughter as were standing round the place of assembly.' Foreigners were not admitted within the place marked out by the προαγοιτῆρα, see § 176, but they seem still to have been within earshot of the speakers, and like the strangers in the gallery of the House of Commons, occasionally to have made themselves heard.

τῆς πόλεως ἅλας 'the city's salt,' i.e. my duty to the city whose salt I have eaten, whose honour I have experienced, and to which therefore I owe the most service. 'To eat a man's salt' is to be his friend and prosopite. Aristot. *Eth.* *Polit.* 7, 2, εἰς παλαιὰν ἐχέμεν δ' ἀδελφὸς τῶν ἄλλων. Cicero *de Off.* § 67, vetum est illud est quod dicitur multos salis esse et ut natus esse ut amicitiae munus eripiamus. See also Aesch. 2 § 22. Demosth. *de Fals. Leg.* § 182, πρὸς δ' ἅλας ποτὶ τὰ πρὸς πρὸς σπασθῆναι; ταῦτα γὰρ τὰς πόλιν τῆς πόλεως. § 191, τὰς πόλιν οὐκ οὐκ ἅλας παραμυθίαν καὶ τὰς ἀπορίας ἀντιμετώπιον.

225 κατασκόπων συλλήψεις. We have of one rather such spy. Antiphon, Dem. *de Cor.* § 183, whose release was secured by Aeschines.

βασάνους, i.e. on the rack, or τριβύς, which seems to have

been the only instrument of torture used, in spite of the various methods enumerated in Aristoph. *Ran.* 618.

ἐπ' αἰτίαις ἀγενήτοις 'on groundless charges.' The word ἀγενής is of rare occurrence in this sense. L. and Sc. quote Alcibiades 3, 58, ἐκβαλεῖ ἀγενήτοις. In Isocr. 397 A, ὅν οὐδὲν διὰ τὴν φερόμενα τὴν ἀπὸ ἀγενήτων ὅστερ it means 'none of which final results are unaccomplished as far as the defendant is concerned.' It is not his doing that they did not take place. In this phrase αἰτίαι must stand for the 'things charged' like the Latin *crimina*.

ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι § 189.

τίς ἂν εἴη ἱατρός. Dem. *de Cor.* § 243. It is possible that Demosthenes might in conversation have used this illustration, and that it had been reported to Aeschines, as he says; but it is more likely that it is an after-insertion.

ἐλθὼν εἰς τὰ ἑνὰτα 'when he came to the funeral.' Dem. 1. c. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰς ἐπισημὰς αἰτίαι φέρει. τὰ ἑνὰτα sc. ἡμέρα, 'the ceremonies on the ninth day,' the last day of the funeral solemnities. Isocrus 8 § 32, τὰ ἑνὰτα ἐπὶ τῇσι αἰσάνοις τε καὶ ἀντιμετώπιον. A banquet was given on this day to the friends and relatives, see Plautus *Aut.* 2, 4, 15, *cocus ille mundissimus: in convivium dicitur scire se costum.* Becker's *Charicles* p. 308.

ἃ ἐπιτηδεύσας 'by following what is common,' 'by what treatment.' This word appears to be used in a medical sense, though I can find no example of it. L. and Sc. quote medical writers as using ἐπιτηδεύω for 'dicit.' It may of course be explained in a general sense, 'by what course of conduct.'

226 σαυτὸν δ' οὐκ ἀντερωτᾷς 'but you don't ask yourself in your turn.' ἀντερωτᾷς (1) is to answer a question by putting another, (2) to ask questions in turn.

τίς ἂν εἴη 'what one is to say of a popular state man that is capable of etc.' For τῶν τε ἀντιμετώπιον. Isocrus 20 § 9, πρὸς τοιοῦτων ἀντιμετώπιον, αἰεὶ τὰς ἀντιμετώπιον τὴν ἀντιμετώπιον ἀντιμετώπιον. Supr. §§ 197, 196.

ἀποδράς ἐκ τῶν κινδύνων § 151.

περιβαλὼν 'after having put on.' § 114. Demosth. *F. L.* § 267, τὸν φορέον τὸν πολεμικὸν βίβλητον, τὸν πολεμικὸν καὶ τὸν πολεμικὸν πολεμικόν. The metaphor implied in the word is seen in Thucyd. 7, 25, 7, ἀντιμετώπιον τὸν πολεμικὸν ἀντιμετώπιον πολεμικόν. τὸν πολεμικὸν τὸν πολεμικόν.

ἀγαθὸν πεποιηκὼς sc. τὸν ἄνθρωπον. All the clauses depending on ὅστις, though they seem to refer dominantly to Demosthenes, are

put tentatively and indefinitely, and therefore $\mu\eta\delta\iota\zeta$ not $\sigma\upsilon\delta\iota\zeta$ is used, and the optative mood in the verbs.

ἐπερωτῶν δὲ 'but (instead of that) asks the victims of his vexatious attacks, why they didn't hinder him?' see on § 217, Demosth. de Cor. §§ 196–8.

συκοφαντηθέντας ἐκ τῆς πολιτείας "harried out of public life by the vicious accusations of their political opponents." See on § 209.

ἐπ' ἐκείνων τῶν καιρῶν, *see* *on* § 299).

227 τῆς μάχης. Chaeroneia.

αἰρέσις, ποιῶν. Here again the principal idea is conveyed by the participle, not the verb. Aeschines means that it was the dishonour to the country implied by such a demand that induced him at length to act. Cp. § 200.

ἐνταῦθα 'under these circumstances.'

ἐνόστην 'I interposed,' *intercessit*. Of an outbreak in a water-course Dem. in *Colloq.* § 10 ὁ νόστης γι. In later writers it is used to translate the *intercessores* of the Roman tribunes.

228 ὦν . ἐφ' ᾧ ἀγανακτῶ μάλιστα 'of all the allegations which I am told Demosthenes intends to make, that at which I am most annoyed is what I am now about to mention.' ὦν is attracted into the case of an antecedent implied by ἐφ' ᾧ (= ἐπὶ ταῖς αἰ.) The construction of ἀγανακτῶ is (1) absolute, Demosth. *Philoct.* § 2, ἐπὶ τῷ ἀφελῶν τὰς αἰετὰς πόλιν μάλιστα ὃ γὰρ ὡς ἐγγυχημένους ἀγανακτῶ. (2) with accus. Demosth. *Coron.* § 15, αἰ εἰς πτωχὺν τὸν ἀγανακτῶσιν αὐτόν. (3) with ἐπὶ, ep. Isocrus 3 § 30, ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ ἔοικεν ἀγανακτῶ. [W. reads δὲ (in an ed. 1878) καὶ μάλιστα ἀγανακτῶ, the ass. varying between ἀγανακτῶ and ἀγανακτῶ.]

ἀφομοιοῖ Σαρῆσιν. This comparison does not occur anywhere in the writings of Demosthenes. We may suppose that he had used it in conversation which had been reported to Aesopinus. The Sirens Ἀχαιοὶ ὁμόμαρ ἀνδρῶν (Homer, *Odyssey* π 435) ἀνδρὶ κοίτῳ (Euripides, *Orestes* 12, 11).

κληρίσθαι. Ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ τοῦ ὁσίου βασιλέως. Ἐν τῇ Πεντῇ ἡμέρᾳ. 315
Α. Ἐπειδὴ οὖν ἐν τῇ ἐκείνῃ τῇ πενθῇ 3. Πρωτοπρεσβ. ἐκεί-
νη τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ὑπὸ τῶν Ὁσίων, οἱ δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἀνάμνησιν ἔχουσιν ἀνάμνη-
σιν.

τὴν φύσιν μου 'my natural ability,' while *δοξα* is glory (doxa) or praise.

tὸν λόγον τοῦτον 'such an observation as that.' Aeschines means to diminish any special oratorical ability or experience. He is an ordinary citizen whose strength is not in his eloquence, in which he has no professional skill, but in the justice of his cause.

τῆς γὰρ αἰτίας, ἐπιδείξαι 'for when a man brings a charge and can show no justification of it the shame recoils upon himself,' τῆς αἰτίας τὸ ἔργον 'the substantial ground of his charge,' nearly in the sense in which ἔργον is usually opposed to λόγος. The γὰρ explains οὐδενὶ πρέπειν 'it is to no man's honour, it is ἀνάξιον.'

229 εἰ δ' ἦν δ'ράκταιον. Such an observation is indeed wholly unjust as applied to me; but if it was necessary for the good of the State that it should be made, it did not lie with Demosthenes to make it. It should have come from someone of exactly the opposite characteristics: some man who while a good general was a poor speaker; some man who had done great public services, and yet had reason to dread the superior word-force of his opponent, from a consciousness of inability to put his own services in a proper light. Aeschines has been thought to be referring here to Phocion.

παριστάται διότι κεν 'to make his hearers realise the nature of his administration.' Dem. 3 Phil. § 28, ἀμαρτανόει το ταῦτα λόγους τῆς ἀπάτης, καὶ ὅς παροτρύνει, οἷον, τὴν αὐτὴν προστάτας ὡς ἀμαρτανόει.

ἐξ ὀνομάτων συγκείμενος 'a man made up of words,' 'a mere man of phrases.' Phil. *Proem.* ὅς α. συγκείται τὸ σῶμα ἐξ ἀπὸ λέξεων καὶ φωνῶν. *Abraham* 13:10, ὅς α. (τρεῖς). θεοὶ καὶ κ.τ.λ. α. ἀπὸ ὀνομάτων καὶ ἀπὸ φωνῶν λέξεων τοιοῦτος γινάσκει.

καὶ τούτων, περιέργων 'and the σ , too, words of bitterness and plainness coming.' It is not necessarily a fault that an author's words should be $\pi\alpha\lambda\alpha\iota$, but $\Delta\epsilon\sigma\iota\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$ means that a man who has such language always at command cannot claim consideration on the ground of simplicity of character ($\acute{\alpha}\pi\lambda\acute{o}\tau\eta\tau\alpha$) and of being only able to tell a plain tale ($\tau\acute{\alpha}\ \epsilon\rho\gamma\alpha$).

of 'a man who, if you cut out his tongue, what is left is as useless as a thing would be if you cut off its mouthpiece.' Stob. *Eccl.* 1, 69. *Ἀνθρώπου τὸν λόγον αἰὶνός ἐστιν ὡς τὸ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τὸ γλῶττιον, τὸ ἀποτμήσας τὸν ἀνθρώπον.* (R.). For is in this sense — cf. *Lucas* 32 § 29, *ὡς ἐκλάμπει γὰρ πρὸς ὅσον*. There is no need to read *ὡς γὰρ* with Weidner.

is 230-233. The commencement of the Epilogue. Why then, should you acquit Ctesiphon? Not assuredly on the ground that his proposal is constitutional, or that his char-

implied in the phrase. There seems to be such in *ἐὼς ποῦ* Lysias 24 § 14.

ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης ἐγκαταλείφθαι. Yes, answers Demosthenes *de Cor.* § 207, but if you condemn me people will not say that you were *unfortunate* in your disasters, but that you made a *mistake* when you trusted me.

ἀτιμῶτε 'do you dishonour?' The present of what frequently occurs: § 132.

τοὺς ἐκ τῶν Διονυσίων 'the judges at the Dionysian festival.'

τοὺς κυκλίους χοροὺς 'the cyclic choruses' danced and sang dithyrambic poetry, as opposed to dramatic. These performances were a development of the wild Comus or Bacchic revel, and still appear to have retained much of their original character; for they were sometimes at least performed by bands of revellers parading the streets (Arist. *Jorn.* 3800). Of the literature which grew out of this custom we have no complete specimen except the Epimæian Odes of Pindar. See Suidas s.v. Arist. *Nub.* 333, 966. Callim. fr. 279. Donaldson, *Theatre of the Greeks*, p. 358-41. The Schol. explains ἐκ οὗ ἐστι στῆσαι, ἀποστῆσαι καὶ ἐπιθεῖν. Schol. on Arist. *Nub.* 333, οἱ ἀριστοὶ ποιῶντες χοροὺς καὶ οὐλοὺς καὶ λόγους τὰ ποιήματα (ibid.).

ὀλίγοις...τῷ διαπραξαμένῳ, cp. § 170.

233 ἔπειτα 'when he has done that.'

αὐτὸς τὴν αὐτοῦ. Some mss. have τὴν αὐτὴν αὐτοῦ, which Weidner prints. Cp. Soph. *Aj.* 1132, [Plat.] *Alcib.* ii. 144 c.

συμπαράκολουθῶν 'haunting him.' Cp. § 157.

δι' αὐτὸν γὰρ οἶμαι γέγονε τὸ ἀμάρτημα. Weidner follows Blake in omitting these words, which look like a tentative explanation of some commentator. If they stand they must mean 'for owing to it (the oath), I presume, was the sin,' i.e. his action was a sin because it was perjury. But this is a very unsatisfactory and forced translation; and the words are better away.

πρὸς ὃν [for πρὸς ταῦτα, ὃ] belongs to ἀποδοὶ γογγίζου 'the favour has been concealed as far as the person is concerned to whom he was granting it.'

ἢ γὰρ ψῆφος ἀφανὴς φέρεται, these words are omitted by Bake and Weidner as a gloss. They form certainly rather a lame conclusion to the sentence; and yet it seems scarcely safe to strike them out in defiance of all mss. For ψῆφος φέρεται see § 135.

§§ 234-235 To me it appears that our folly has had its advantage as well as its danger. Its danger is the surrendering the securities of democracy into the hands of a clique; its advantage the getting rid of factious orators, such as were some of those who developed into the Thirty, whose cruelties you remember. Keep statesmen, then, well subordinate to the law: if men once feel superior to the law-courts, the next step is the subversion of the constitution.

234 εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν οὐ σωφρονόνητες 'by our want of moderation in regard to the conduct of the state.' The points referred to by κατὰ νόμον and παρακατανοήειν are then explained in inverse order (Chiasmus) by εἰ αὖτε ἔτι δέ.

ἐπὶ τῶν νῦν καιρῶν, see § 220.

τοῖς ὀλίγοις. No formal change in the Athenian constitution appears to have been made in the period following the battle of Chaeroneia; but Demosthenes ceased to a very great extent to take a leading part in politics soon afterwards; and no doubt the triumph of the Macedonian party meant the suppression of the popular leaders and the practical restriction of debate.

τὰ τῆς δημοκρατίας ἰσχυρὰ 'the mainstays of democracy,' especially the γὰρ ἡ παρρησία, see §§ 191-196.

φορὰ ῥητόρων 'a crop of orators at once ill-disposed and shameless.' Cp. Demosth. *de Cor.* 61, φορὰ πρᾶντων. § 271, φορὰ πρᾶντων.

τὸ δημόσιον 'the state,' cp. Lysias 5 § 4 though it there may mean 'the treasury,' which is the more usual signification of it.

τοιαύτας αἰ. For this pregnant use of the relative after τοὺς τοὺς see § 157. Cp. Demosth. *de Cor.* 292, τοιαύτων εἶλου πολιτῶν... ὅ, ἢν ἀποχρήσῃς τῆς πατρίδος λεγὼ πλεονέκτης... Lysias 7 § 40, τοιαύτους δὲ ἐπιτεταμένους μᾶλλον ὅς ἐστιν οὐκ ἂν δίκαιος πιστεύοιτο. Id. 13 § 5, ἐπειγὲ γὰρ οὔτως τοιαῦτα δι' αὐτὸν ἐκείνων κινεῖται. It is not equivalent to εἰς, but introduces a result which actually happened, while explaining the causes. [For κατέχευαν W. reads κατέχευαν.]

οὕτω, as we know they did. He is referring to the party of ἰσχυροτάτοι who gradually made the usurpation of the Thirty possible.

ἔχαιρε γὰρ κολακευόμενος. For the susceptibility of the Demos to flattery cp. Arist. *Ach.* 636:

αἰθ' ἠδισταί θεωπεύομενοις μὲν εἶναι χαιρομένους...
εἰ δὲ τίς ἡμᾶς ἐπαυρομένης ἀπέχει καλέσας Ἀθήνας,
ἀποστοπὴν ἂν εἰδὲ τὰς ἀπάρας.

Cp. *Lg.* 17 sqq.

235 καὶ αὐτοὶ τριάκοντα 'some of them were actually themselves among the Thirty.' He may refer especially to Theramenes, who at one time at any rate was a popular favourite. Lysias 12 § 68. [W. omits αὐτοὶ, but it is needed to mark the distinction between the party whose politics led up to the 30, and the actual members of that body.]

πλείους ἢ χιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους. The Thirty held the government for about 8 months (March to November B.C. 404), and in that time, says the herald of the Mystae, killed more than the Spartans had in ten years. Xen. *Hell.* 2, 3, 15—21; 2, 4, 21, cp. Diodor. xiv. 1. For their massacre at Delos see Xen. *Hell.* 2, 4, 9.

ἀκρίτους. For the new law under the Thirty allowed them to put to death without trial all who were not on the roll of the 3000 privileged citizens. Xenoph. *Hell.* 2, 3, 51. ἔπει δ' ἐν τοῖς καιροῖς τοῖς αὐτοῖς τῶν αὐτῶν τρισηλίων ὅσον καὶ ἀποκρίσκειν ἄνευ τῆς ἐπιτήδεως φέρει. τῶν δ' ἐξ αὐτῶν κατὰ λόγον κίμους εἶναι τοὺς τριάκοντα ἑκατόν. Isocr. 7 § 67. Lys. 12 § 17.

οὐδ' ἐπὶ τὰς ταφὰς παραγενέσθαι. Cp. Lysias 12 § 87, δὲ δὲ κατασκευάζει καὶ τοὺς συνάγοντας αὐτὰς θεῶν καὶ τὰς τεύχεων ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἐν ἑλλάδι. Ib. § 96, τοὺς δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ γυναικῶν ἀδελφότες φονεῖς αὐτῶν ἐμάχασαν γυνεῖς καὶ οὐδὲ ταφὰς τῆς κοινῆς αἵματι τυχόν. This was the law of custom. See Becker's *Charities*, pp. 382—4. [Cobet would strike out καὶ ἐφορῶν. But τὰς αὐτῶν are 'funeral ceremonies' generally, ἐφορῶν a particular part of them; and the passage in Lysias suggests that, being the most public part, it was the most dangerous in this case.]

οὐ ταπεινώσαντες ἀποπέμψετε... ἐπηρμένους 'will you not dismiss these men in humiliation who are now so exalted?' The emphatic word is the participle ταπεινώσαντες 'humiliate' and so dismiss them, cp. § 227, and ἀποπέμψετε is the analogue of ἀπαλλῆλτεν. W. however in his ed. of 1878 reads ἀπεπέμψετε here, as he had previously done in § 253 (following Usener in his note on Eurip. *Hec.* 72, ὃ ποῦνα Νέαν, ἀπεπέμψαι ἐννιχὸν ἔφη), and translates it 'dismiss with ex-ecration.'

ἐπέθετο 'attempted,' cp. Herod. 1, 1, κατὰ λῆξιν καὶ ἐπὶ πλείους.

πρὶν ἂν μείζον τῶν δικαστηρίων ἰσχύσῃ 'until he had raised himself to a superiority over the courts of law.' Till he was able to despise them. Cp. Cic. 2 *Fam.* § 115, *quid non potius si propter incontinentiam, laudo; si propter tem-eritatem, si propter quod ista non timeat, et quid timendum est?*

§§ 236—240 Besides—legal or illegal—what are the real grounds for thus rewarding Demosthenes? (See *Dem. de Cor.* 207.) His mighty services about the fortifications were stained by sacrilege; and the Theban alliance, of which he boasts, was the result of circumstances, not of his diplomacy; just as was the change of tone in the king of Persia.

236 ἡδέως δ' ἂν—ὁμολογησάμην 'I should be glad to come to some understanding.' Cp. Plato, *Rep.* iv. p. 436, ἐν τούτοις ἀποβλέποντες ὁμολογησάμεθα 'let us come to a more accurate understanding with each other.' The reading of A is ἀκαταλογιστάμην which Weidner and Simcox adopt.

λέγεις sc. Ctesiphon.

ὅθεν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐποιήσω 'the assertion with which you began your discourse,' or 'which you made in the preamble of your discourse.'

τὰς τάφρους the trenches made for defending Athens after Chaeroneia, when Demosthenes was a co-missioner of the walls (*τειχεποῖς*) § 17. *Dem. de Cor.* §§ 118, 209.

τοῦ γὰρ ταύτου ἔχει 'for the fact that he was the cause of these measures of precaution being necessary is more damning than the excellence of their construction is praiseworthy.' Lit. 'his being the cause involves a heavier charge than their excellent construction.'

οὐδὲ τὰς δημοσίας ταφὰς ἀνελόντα 'nor for having obliterated the funeral honours publicly bestowed.' This seems the best sense to be given to those words if they are to stand. Cobet rejects τὰς ταφὰς for τὰς ἐφορῶν (though see Herod. 6, 62), and insists that τὰς ταφὰς ought to be read, and Weidner, who also omits δημοσίας, follows him. On the other hand ἀνελόντα is not quite the natural word to be used in this latter case: and it is conceivable, and somewhat after his manner, that Aeschines, wishing to say that Demosthenes had removed certain tombs, should express it by saying that he had 'abolished' or 'obliterated' customary public funeral ceremonies.' So *βήματα ἀναρῶν* § 202. These tombs were mostly in the Ceramici. The editors all quote Lysias, c. *Leoc.* § 41, κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους οὐκ ἔστιν ἥτις ἡλικία οὐ παλαιότερον ἔστιν εἰς τὴν τῶν πλείων σωτηρίαν, ὅθ' ἡ μὲν χάρις τὰ ἔμμελα συνιστάτο, οἱ δὲ τελευτηθέντες τὰς ἡλικίας, οἱ δὲ νεφτὰ ὅπλα. It may mean only that Demosthenes had to remove some tombs in making his τάφους, or that he used some of the tombs for building materials, as Simcox points out was done before. Thucyd. 1, 93.

237 ἀφελὼν τὴν ἀλαζονείαν, cp. § 161.

ἄψαι τῶν ἔργων, cp. § 173.

Ἀμφισσέας, §§ 111, 125 seq. Εὐβοέας, § 85 seq. τῆς πρὸς Θηβαίους συμμαχίας, § 84, Dem. de Cor. 178.

ἀνατιθῆς, in a good sense 'you give the credit of,' cp. §§ 231, 332.

ἀφελών...τούτων 'when you omit to mention the nature of the crisis and the high reputation of these your countrymen.' In pretending that the Theban alliance was owing to Demosthenes you derogate from the honour of Athens; for that alliance, so far as it was not wholly the result of the circumstances of the hour, was a tribute to her high character. See on § 137.

τὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀξίωμα 'the prestige properly belonging to the city,' Dem. de Cor. § 149, τὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀξίωμα λέγων περιτιθεῖς, § 231.

238 κατέπεμψε 'sent down from Asia.'

ἀπαιδευτῶς 'coarsely,' 'vulgarly,' without the παιδεία of § 117, 170 and 260.

οὐ γὰρ λήψεσθε. Smeaton appositely quotes Aristoph. Ach. 104 for this abrupt message from the king, οὐ λήψι χρῆσι χαλεπώτερον ἴασηται. For these dealings with Persia see Grote, vi. p. 347.

239 τῶν νυνὶ παρόντων κινδύνων. Alexander was at this time in Media. The death of Darius appears not to have been yet known at Athens. § 132.

ὁ δὲ κομίζων καιρὸς. Cp. § 141.

τὰ δ' ἑβδομήκοντα τάλαντα. Grote says 'it is nearly proved that Demosthenes applied the money to his own private purposes.' This is the βασιλικὴ χρημὴς of which we have heard more than once before, § 173, 200. Justin 12, 2, 7. The Scholiast says that Demosthenes refused to refund it to the agents of Darius, saying, ταῦτα ἐμοὶ ἐπεσθῆκεν ἐπὶ τοῖς σκευαλιστάσι καὶ οὐκ ἐπιστῆσαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι εὐθὺς πρὸς αὐτόν. Schol. 3, 145.

ἀπεστέρησας 'you embarrassed,' used thus technically without any word for the person deprived. Cp. Dem. Mid. § 14, εἰς τίς ἐκὼν παρ' ἐκείνου λαβὴν τάλαντον ἐκ ἧς οὐκ ἔδεν, καὶ ταύτ' ἀπεστέρησεν.

240 οὐ δὲ ἔνδειαν παρέδοσαν 'was it not through want of money, for the sake in fact of five talents, that the Theban garrison refused to surrender the citadel of Thebes?' The accusation against Demosthenes is stated more fully by Demetrius, §§ 18-20. He asserts that Demosthenes had received thirty

talents from the king of Persia to support the resistance to Alexander (in B.C. 335) and yet refused to advance the five talents for which the Macedonian garrison were willing to surrender the Kadmeia, besieged by the Theban citizens, who, encouraged by the reported death of Alexander, had declared their severance from Macedonia; or the ten talents demanded by Aspillos the commander of an Achaean force, that he should refuse to serve Alexander and go to the relief of Thebes; although the Achaean force had advanced as far as the Isthmus on their way, and had actually sent back the envoy of Antipater, who urged them to declare on the Macedonian side. The truth of this charge is strongly refuted by the fact that the conduct of Demosthenes in the Peloponnese was named among other virtues, some years afterwards, as the ground for a grant of special honours. See Grote vi. pp. 358-360. Scholaster iii. p. 110 who accuses Aeschines here of downright lying.

ἡ πράξις οὐ γεγένηται. The question is introduced by the fact οὐ γεγένηται, this second οὐ belongs closely to γεγένηται 'and for the lack of ten talents (which Demosthenes refused to pay), has not the whole transaction proved a failure?' The πράξις is the negotiation with the Peloponnesians. The point is only to be justified by the plea that Aeschines is regarding the existing state of things as the direct consequence of this alleged stinginess or dishonesty of Demosthenes.

χορηγίς 'procurer,' 'minister.' Cp. 1, 54, εὐχόμεται χορηγῶν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τὸ εὐεργετῆν.

καὶ τὸ κεφάλαιον 'and crown and sum up all,' §§ 104, 126, 173.

§§ 241, 242. As to calling on Demosthenes to speak, — what could be more ridiculous than to hear him sing his own praises? You had better conduct your own defence, Ctesiphon. You cannot plead ignorance; for you have undertaken only lately a foreign mission requiring skilful oratory.

241 τὴν ἀπαιδευσίαν αὐτῶν 'their want of taste.' Cp. ἀπαιδεύτης § 238. See §§ 117, 154, 260.

ἐγκωμιάσει. Two mss. have ἐγκωμιάσει and hence Cobet and Wendland read ἐγκωμιάσει, understanding τάλαντα. Cobet further says that the future of ἐγκωμιάσει is ἀπομαί not ἀμαί, see Aesch. 1, 138. But Vellutius quotes other instances of the active form. If Ctesiphon ventured to call Demosthenes, Aeschines assumes as a matter of course that he will praise himself, and this is better expressed by the future verb than by an infinitive depending on τολμήσει.

τοὺς καθ' ἑαυτῶν ἐπαίνους. See on § 50. Dem. de Cor. § 215.

ὅταν δὲ 'surely when'; for δὲ in apodosis see Goudw. § 274. Madv. § 188, R. 6.

242 πρῶην 'only the other day,' some time in the spring of the year.

ὡς Κλεοπάτραν... Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτῇ 'you allowed yourself to be elected as envoy to Cleopatra, Philip's daughter, to condole with her on the death of Alexander, king of the Molossians.'

Alexander was a brother of Olympias, queen of Philip and mother of Alexander the Great. Philip first put into his hands certain cities in Ambracia [Dem. *Habon.* § 32]; and on the death of Arymbas, king of the Molossi, B.C. 348, he was by Philip's influence raised to the throne, to the exclusion of Arymbas' son Aeneides, father of Pyrrhus [Diodor. 16, 72]. When Olympias was divorced by Philip she took refuge at her brother's court, and endeavoured to persuade him to make war against her husband. He refused, and received as his reward his own niece, Philip's daughter Cleopatra, in marriage. It was at the celebration of this marriage (B.C. 336) that Philip was assassinated [Diodor. 16, 91—4]. About 332/1 B.C. Alexander accepted an invitation from the Tarentines to aid them against the Brutii. Like his future successor on the Epitroche throne, Pyrrhus, he gladly seized the opportunity of interfering in Italy; and had some dream of a Western Empire, which was to be on a par with the Eastern Empire of his nephew and great namesake. He had some success at first, and even made a treaty with Rome, but finally was defeated and killed in a battle near Pandosia (near Consentia in Bruttium) by the Brutii and Lucani [Justin 12, 2]. See also Strabo 6, 250, 280; Justin 8, 6, 5; 7, 6, 1; 9, 7, 5—7; 18, 1, 2; 26, 1, 15. This mention of Ctesiphon's mission of condolence to Cleopatra seems dragged in for the sake of a snipe at this anti-Macedonian going on a complimentary embassy to a Macedonian princess.

μισθοῦ 'for pay,' insinuating that Ctesiphon had not brought forward his motion in honour of Demosthenes from his own conviction, but as the hired adjuvant of a party or perhaps of Demosthenes himself.

§§ 243—246 Perhaps you think your man is one whose merits will not be recognised without special advocates. Yet no one is in the dark as to the reasons for honouring Chabrias, or Iphicrates, or Timotheus. The fact is, so far from having merited a crown, Demosthenes deserves exclusion from his country, on the same principle as that on which we throw over the frontier the lifeless instruments which have killed a man. And above all he ought to be punished for the sake of setting a good example to the young.

243 Χαβρίαν καὶ Ἰφικράτην καὶ Τιμόθεον. The chief names among the Athenian soldiers of the post-restoration period. Timotheus was a man of low birth, his father Timotheus being a shoemaker, who raised himself to a position of great power and influence by military ability. He is first heard of at the battle of Cnidus (B.C. 394), where his gallantry secured him the command of the Athenian troops sent into Boeotia in the same year; and again at Corinth in B.C. 393. In the course of the latter campaign he introduced his celebrated improvement in the army, by forming a corps of light-armed troops (πύρραται) which proved very effective; and in the course of B.C. 392 cut to pieces a Spartan Mora which was on the march to Lechaëum. From B.C. 387 to 377 he seems to have been engaged in a semi-private capacity in the wars continually going on in Thrace; where he married a daughter of Cady, who became king of Thracæ in B.C. 382, and was allowed by him to build a town (Δρις) for himself. From B.C. 377 to 374 he commanded Athenian troops in Egypt; and in B.C. 373—1 with Chabrias and Callistratus conducted a war in Coreya against Mnasiarchus. In B.C. 369 he commanded the Athenian contingent sent to aid Sparta against the invasion of Epaminondas, without effecting much. In B.C. 367 he was sent against Amphipolis with a small force, but seems to have given most of his energies to interfering in Macedonia, to drive out the pretender Pausanias. He was one of the four commanders in the Social War (B.C. 357—355) after the death of Chabrias; for his conduct in which he was prosecuted by his colleague Chares, but acquitted. He died sometime before B.C. 348. *Sen. Hellen.* 4, 1, 6—12, 11—17; 4, 5, 8; 4, 8, 34; 6, 2, 3; *Diodor.* xiv, 91—2, xv, 29—47, xvi, 57. *Nepos, ed. Iph.*

Ctesiphon succeeded Iphicrates about B.C. 392 in the command of the Athenian army at Corinth; he next defeated the Spartans in Aegina (B.C. 388), and went to assist Evagoras in Cyprus; in B.C. 378 was one of three commanders against Agésilas in Boeotia, and in 377 B.C. served in Egypt against the Persians. Recalled from Egypt he commanded the Athenian fleet at Nauplia (B.C. 376) and defeated the Spartans in a sea-battle. This made him specially famous at Athens, as it was the first victory the Athenians had gained at sea since the Peloponnesian war. He was successively in command at Coreya (B.C. 373) and in the Peloponnese against Epaminondas (B.C. 369). Later on, like Iphicrates, he served in the mercenary army of a foreign sovereign, Tachos king of Egypt (B.C. 361). Returning home he was sent to Thrace (B.C. 358) to command the fleet in the Social War at Chios (B.C. 357), where he perished in a gallant but rash run into the harbour. *Sen. Hellen.* 5, 1, 10; 5, 4, 34; 7, 1, 15—19;

Diod. xv. 32-35, 68-9; Nepos, *Vit. Chabr.*; Demosth. *Lege.* 472. In the campaign of B.C. 378 he invented the change in tactic, whereby the hoplite was taught to receive a charge kneeling on one knee, with his shield resting against the other, and his spear stretched out before him; and accordingly he was honoured at Athens with a statue in that position.

TIMOTHEUS, son of the famous Conon, first became a strategus as colleague of Chabrias and Callicrates in the war of B.C. 378 against Aegilions. In B.C. 375 he commanded a fleet which cruised round the Peloponnese doing damage to the Spartans and their allies, whom he finally defeated on the Acarnanian coast, and thereby gained complete mastery of the sea. In B.C. 372 he served the Persian king against Egypt; but in B.C. 367 was again serving the Athenians, into whose power he reduced the important island of Samos. In 364 B.C. he succeeded Iphicrates in the command at Amphipolis and the neighbourhood, where he was extraordinarily successful; took Potidaea and Torone, and all the other Chalcidian towns; and relieved Cyzicus which was being besieged by the Persians. He failed however to take Amphipolis, but made a successful attack upon Cotys king of Thrace and gained immense booty. In B.C. 358 he induced the Athenians to oppose the Theban occupation of Euboea; and in B.C. 356 was joint commander of the Athenian fleet in the Social War; but in B.C. 354 was accused of receiving bribes by his colleague Chares and fined 100 talents. Being unable to pay he retired to Chalcids, where he soon afterwards died. Xen. *Hell.* 6, 2, 11-13; *Plat.* xv. 47. Isocrat. xv. *περὶ ἀρετῆς*. Nepos *vit. Timothei*. Isocrates (xv. 107-13) says that he took twenty-four cities, more than any other commander had ever done.

πυθοῦ. Schol. *περισπασταὶ Ἀττικῆς τῆς τοῦ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἐκείνου καὶ τὰ θυμῶ.*

τὰς εἰκόνας. The statue of Timotheus stood with one of his father Conon and of Evagoras King of Cyprus near the στυλ βασιλῶν (Pausan. 1, 3, 2). The famous statue of Chabrias in a kneeling posture is referred to in Arist. *Ethic.* 3, 10, who quotes a sentence from Lamachus's defence of him, οὐδὲ τὴν ἐκτετατὴν ἀσχυρτέστερον αὐτὸν τῆς εἰκόνα τῆς χαλκῆς, cp. Nepos, ch. 1, hoc usque eo tunc stragula tanta edebatur ut sit illa statu (i.e. kneeling) Chabrias et statuam pariter roborat, quae publice et ab Atheniensibus in foro constituta est. His tomb in the Ceramicus was close to that of Pericles (Paus. 1, 29, 3). The statue of Iphicrates was at the entrance of the Parthenon (Pausan. 1, 24, 7).

περὶ Νάξου...μόραν. περίπλου. See notes above on Chabrias, Iphicrates and Timotheus. Cp. [Demosth.] *Ant.* § 22.

μόρα Λακεδαιμονίων. The μόρα was a division of the whole of the Spartan full citizens of military age [Harpoc. s. v. μόρα]. According to Moller, *Dorians*, vol. 2, p. 248, there were six such divisions. Xenoph. *Rep. Lac.* 2, 4. *Περὶ τῆς* 5. *Hell.* 6, 1, 1; 4, 17. Diodor. xv. 32.

ἐκάστῳ πέπρακται. Dative of agent with perfect passive. See on Dem. *de Cor.* §§ 53, 140.

244 τάξιν ἐλιπε. See § 152.

καὶ πότερον τελευτήσαντας. 'And, if you do this, will you be honouring Demosthenes, or dishonouring yourselves and those who died for you in the battle?' τῇ μάχῃ se. Chamaelea.

σχετλιάζοντας 'expressing grief and indignation.' Cf. § 254. Demosth. in *Philos.* § 19, ἀγωνιζομένους δὲ μὴ καὶ σχετλιάζοντας, ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἀλκιβίου.

ἐὶ τὰ ξύλα...ὑπερορῶμεν. This was a law of Democritus, Pausan. 6, 11, 2, Διότι οὐδὲν ἄλλο τι πρὸς τοῖς φαντασμοῖς ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλο τι πρὸς τοῖς φαντασμοῖς. Plato. *Lege.* 873 γ. δὲ οὐδὲ ἀποχρῶν τι φυχῆς ἀποχρῶν στήθεσσι πλὴν ἀπὸ κοινοῦ ὅς τε παρὰ θεῶν ποιεῖται ὁ νόμος, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ὅσα τῶν περὶ πλοῦτος ὁ αὐτὸς ἐπιτελεῖται. τὸ δὲ ὅλον ἐκείνου. The laws of Democritus were revealed by Socrates πλὴν τῶν φαντασμάτων (Plat. *Soc.* 17) and in such cases the old customs seem to have been religiously maintained.

ἀγνώμονα 'senseless.'

ἐάν τις αὐτὸν διαχρήσῃται. This regulation is to wit, that their right hands should be cut off and buried apart, but not mentioned elsewhere in classical Greek. It will be observed that burial is not denied to them, as to murderers, though Plato (*Lege.* 873 γ) thinks that their graves should be without monument and then burial lonely and private. In Plutarch, *Them.* 22, a place is mentioned where εἰ δὲ τις καὶ τὰ σώματα οὐκ ἐκείνους τοῦ ἀπαγχνοῦ καὶ ἀποχρῶντος ἐκείνου. In Josephus, *B. J.* 3, 8, 5, the regulation seems to be attributed to Solon παρὰ τῇ ἀριστοτέρῃ νόμῳ καὶ ἐκείνῳ παρ' ἀπὸ τοῦ ὅς καὶ τὰς ἐκείνους τοῦ ἀπαγχνοῦ καὶ ἀποχρῶντος ἐκείνου αὐτὸς ἐπιτελεῖται καὶ αὐτὸν ἡγούμενον, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος τῆς ψυχῆς ἀλλοτρίον αὐτῷ καὶ τῇ γένει τοῦ σώματος. The popular sentiment as to suicide however was that it might be, and often was, more honourable than to cling to life in desperate circumstances of dishonour. See § 212, and Polybius' remarks on the conduct of the anti-Roman statesmen in B.C. 167 (30, 8). The Stoics indeed held that without the right of suicide a man could not be wholly independent (Zeller, *Stoics*, p. 316), and though Plato (*Phaedo.* c. 6; *Apolog.* c. 17) taught that suicide

was equivalent to a description of a post in which the gods had placed men as soldiers, yet in the Laws he extends the regulation as to shameful burial only to one who kills himself without sufficient cause, who *κατεπεμψέντο ἀμύτω τιμωπιδόθεν τὴν ἀναγκασίαν, ἀπὲρ αἰσχύνῃς τιμῆς ἀπὸρροι καὶ ὁ δὲ μετὰ λαχών, ἀργα δὲ καὶ ἀνανδρίας διὰ διὰ ἑαυτῷ δικὴν δίκην ἐπέδωκε*.

245 τὸν γράψαντα... ἐξοδόν 'who proposed our final military expedition,' that namely which terminated with the battle of Chaeroneia. *παντοπατήν* implies also the sense of 'fatal,' 'disastrous,' as well as 'last.' Weidner quotes Soph. *Aj.* 858; *Tr.* 874. What purports to be the decree of Demosthenes is given in the *de Cor.* §§ 181—187. He calls it *ἡ ἐξοδός* § 178.

προδόντα, § 146.

ἐπιλείπουσαν *epileipontem* 'fading away,' used more than once of water in a well drying up and disappearing. Demosth. *Symon.* § 30; *in Polych.* § 61.

ἐὰν ἐπερωτώσιν. Weidner with one ms. omits *ἐπερ*. Much the same argument is used in 1 § 186.

πρὸς ποῖον ποιεῖσθαι 'on what model they ought to frame their way of life,' cp. Plato, *Protag.* 325 B, ὅτι πρὸς τοῖς τε νόμοις ἀναγκαστὶ καὶ κατὰ τούτους (ἢ κατὰ παράδειγμα). Isocr. *ad Demosth.* § 11, ἵνα γὰρ τῇς Ἰσπανικῆς φιλίας μετ' ἐξουνοχαιῶν πρὸς οὐδὲν ἔστιν ὅτι ὡς περ πρὸς παράδειγμα.

τί κρινεῖτε; 'what will be your decision?' Weidner with one ms. omits the words. They cannot mean simply 'What answer will you give?' But, as the decision came to by the judges will be the best reply to such a question, it amounts almost to this.

246 οὐχ αἱ παλαίστραι οὐδὲ τὰ διδασκαλεῖα οἷδ' ἢ μουσική. The three branches of education of an Athenian boy, γυμναστική, μουσική, γομαστική. See Plato, *Protag.* 325 B γυμναστικά καὶ μουσικά αὐτὴν τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐκτελεῖ, and in them is included the learning by heart and rehearsal ποιεῖσθαι ἀγαθὰ ποιήματα ἢ οἷς πολλοὶ μὲν νομισθεῖσιν ἔσθαι, πολλοὶ δὲ ἀκούειν καὶ θρῆναι καὶ ἔγκωμια παλαιῶν ἀδελφῶν ἀγαθῶν, ἵνα ὁ παῖς ἐχέῃσι μιμήται καὶ ἀεζήται τούτους γινώσκων. After this the boys are sent to the palaestra, ἵνα τὰ σώματα μέλτω ἔχοντες ἐπηρεάζωσι τῇ βίῳ χρηστὴν αἰσθη.

τὰ δημόσια κηρίγματα 'the proclamations of public honours'—answering to the influence of the *klêros* in the passage quoted from Plato *Protagoras*. One ms. has *ἀρεταί*, and Weidner omits the word κηρίγματα altogether.

ἀσχημονῶν τῷ βίῳ 'living in a disgraceful manner.' Cp. 2,

151. Demosth. *de Anthe.* 52, ὅτι ὡς ἀλλὰ ἀσχημονῶν ὁ δὲ λαὸς οὐκ ἐλευθέρων ἔστιν ἔργα.

διεφθάρη 'is corrupted,' a genuine Aorist. [W. writes *διέφθαρται* to insert it into harmony with *περμαίνεται*, but the differences of the tenses in the protases *καρτεῖται*, *δοῦλεται* account for the change.]

ὁ δὲ νεώτερος, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι, ὁ δὲ εἰκότως, for the *δε* in *προδόντας* cp. § 241.

τάναντία τις, οὐδὲν 'summarily o-mai goes home and tries to subvert his son, after having given a decision against right and justice.'

ἐνταῖθα 'in such circumstances.' Cp. Herod. 6. 32, ἐνταῖθα Περικλῆς αἰσταντοῦντος ἐξέτασεν τὰς ἀπαιτήσεις. [W. omits the word.]

ἐνοχλεῖν ἤδη, ὀνομάζεται 'imposition in those circumstances is called, and indeed with justice, a necessary measure.' For *δὲ* marking an emphatic *etiam* see §§ 145, 147.

§ 247—249 Final Appeal to the Jurors. Remember that all eyes are upon you: that the character of the State depends on that of the men who doze to honour. Beware then of men who falsely assume the character of patriots: demand rewards from everyone who claims rewards for good service.

247 ὡς οὖν μὴ μέρον κρίνοντες ἀλλὰ καὶ θεωρούμενοι 'as being then not merely engaged in deciding a verdict, but as spectators also of public observation,' 'the observed of all observers' (L'Estr.). Cp. Demosth. *de Cor.* 315, πρὸς τοῖς πρὸ ἡμῶν ἑστῶσι καὶ θεωροῦσι. [But Weidner reads *θεωροῦντες*, supposing the object of it to have been lost, and that connectors of the *αἰε* changed it to *θεωροῦσθαι* to fill up the gap from a reference to this passage of Demosthenes.]

εἰς ἀπολογισμὸν 'with a view to justifying yourselves,' lit. 'to be able to give an account to.' A rare word, *ποιεῖσθαι ἀπολογία*, but derived from the idea of making up accounts [cp. λογισμαί, λογισμός § 52]. Polych. 10, 11, ὅ, οὐχ' ἐτέρως τοῖς λογισμοῖς ἀπολογισμοῖς ἀλλ' αἰετὶ γὰρ πεποιθὲς αὐτῶν.

προσεικασθῆναι 'that the city should be considered like.'

248 τοὺς προκαταλαμβάνοντας... ὀνομάτων 'those who try to preclude your feelings in their favour by claiming a monopoly of public spirit and patriotism.' For *προκαταλαμβάνειν* used of such an attempt to get a prepossession in favour of a person cp. §§ 9, 70, 71. For κοινά 'popular,' the reverse of exclusive or selfish, cp. Demosth. *de Cor.* 268, παντὶ κατὰ ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ φιλόπολις καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς ἐπαρκῶς κ.τ.λ.

κεῖται μὲν ἐν μέσῳ 'are public property indeed': i.e. all may gain or use them, but practically the people readiest to do so are those who in their actions are most widely removed from them.

§§ 249-251 The way to avoid such national disgrace is not to grant these rewards lightly, but to demand a proof of the claimant's worthiness. If you do not do so, you will have particular men becoming so powerful as to dare the law and menace to human states, and be treated by them as though they really represented the country's greatness in their own persons; while the people, shut out from its rightful privileges, must be content with the fragments of power they daunt to leave it.

249 [Ξενικῶν] στεφάνων καὶ κρηγμάτων ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν τισὶν bestowed by foreign states and gratifications made before assembled Hellenes. The objection to this sentence is that the crown proposed for Demosthenes is not *μεγάλαι*. Weidner gets out of the difficulty by following Demetrius in striking out *ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν* and *οἱ ἀπὸ σπουδαίου ἐν*. Smeaton says that this crown is called *μεγάλαι* because given when foreign crowns should be (§ 230). This is not a very obvious or satisfactory explanation; and perhaps, if the word is to stand, it is best to take the reference as descriptively made general, so as to include the case of Demosthenes, though not to be confined to it. The objection to *οἱ ἀπὸ σπουδαίου ἐν* itself has obvious: for by having the *μεγαλάνοι* made at the exhibition of the new Treasuries in the Theatre the granting of various distinctions was common.

ἐπανάγειν τὸν λόγον σώφρονα καὶ ἡμῶν ἰσχυρὰ καὶ ἀδύνατος his argument to prove the worthiness and solvency of his client: for such a cause is manifestly a *κατασκευασμένη* (§ 230). For ἐπανάγειν *ἐν τοῖς λόγοις* and § 57. *Ἰσοκράτης*, καὶ τὰς ἀρχαῖς in which case the words must be dependent on τὰς ἀρχαῖς from the next clause.]

τὰς βεβαιώσεις τῶν κτημάτων 'the setting of securities for property.' Just as the law orders that a vendor should give a purchaser of property a security for the validity of his purchase, so should the state be compelled to show that her security for which the reward is claimed, is a sure and proper ground on which to grant it. Cf. Demosthenes, *de Cor. 90*, § 17, καὶ ἐὰν εἰς πόλιν ἔδωκεν, τὴν πρὸ τοῦ κατασκευάσαντος ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχαίων ἐπέσπευ, εἰ δ' ἀπίστευον ἀνταρχαῖς, τὴν αὖ καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἀρχαίων ἐπέσπευ. *Ἀνακτορῶν ἐν τῇ γῇ καὶ Δημοσθένει* § 12, καὶ Μενελάου ἀρχαίων οὐκ ἐστὶν ἡμῶν. *βεβαίωσις*, see *Harpocration* quoted by *Lydus*. If a third person disjoined the validity of the purchase from possession, he could proceed against the vendor by a *δίκη ἀρκεσίμων*.

Schömann, *Att. Proc.* p. 720. He who brought such a suit was said *ἀσθενεῖν ἐπὶ τοῖς πράγμασι* Poll. 8, 34. Hence Aeschines says: 'I urge him to refer back his claim to its original source.'

ἤδη διαφευγούσης ὑμᾶς 'which is already slipping through your hands,' i.e. by the usurpation of individuals.

250 εἰς ἰδιωτικὰς οἰκίας. He of course means Demosthenes and his party; but what letters these were we do not know (§ 225). Demetrius (*de Term.* § 29) asserts that embassies were sent to Demosthenes from the Attadians and others, when they were preparing to march to the aid of Thebes.

τῶν πρωτευόντων ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ καὶ τῇ Εὐρώπῃ apparently means from the Persian and Macedonian courts (Aeschines could hardly mean the Thracians by *οἱ πρωτεύοντες ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι* as Smeaton thinks).

ἐφ' οἷς ἔστιν ἡμεῖς for which the penalty assigned by law is death, i.e. treasonable communication with foreign states. The extraordinary severity of Athenian laws, especially as to anything connected with or that could by any means be looked under the category of treason, may help to account for the desperate step to which some of her statesmen finally committed themselves. A man with the headlock within measurable distance of his lips was not likely to stand at ease.

παραναγιγνώσκουσιν 'read and compare with one another'

βλέπειν εἰς τὰ ἐαυτῶν πρόσωπα, *ἐπὶ* § 137, 142. *Dem. 2* *Cor.* § 251.

251 ἐκ τῆς ἀθυρίας, *ἐπὶ* 1, 141. ὥσπερ παραγενηρακῶς ἢ παρανοίας ἐαλκῶς 'as though brought about from madness or declared of insanity' *ἐπὶ* *Cor.* § 150. In other cases the case of the family property was committed to the nearest male relative. See § 150; *Demosthenes de τῶν ἐκ πατρίδος*, *ἐπὶ* 3, *Σωκράτης* λέγεται ἐπὶ τῶν ἐκ πατρίδος πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφόν τῶν ἐκ πατρίδος *ἐπὶ* *Cor.* *de* *Cor.* § 22.

νευράμενοι 'languid, relaxed as your share the business to the great business, so to speak.' The citizens take all the political advantages; the people are satisfied with spectacles in the case of pay and office as the animals do not want.

§ 252-254 That my description of these proceedings as *νευράμενοι* is justified you may learn from the severity with which much less serious acts were punished: one man for merely trying to leave Athens for Sicily (after Chaeroneia) was

put to death; and Leocrates for going to Rhodes on the same occasion only escaped by an equality of votes. Compare their conduct with that of Demosthenes—with his cowardice, his mischievous policy, the disgrace he has brought upon Athens!

ληρῶ, see § 143. ἐκείθεν, *op.* § 163.

252 ἐγένετό τις ἰδιώτης 'there was one who is private me to mention repeatedly the city's misfortunes—a man in this town in no official capacity.' Mavrie proposed to read ἀρχὴν τῶν πόλεων for τὰς ἀρχὰς τῶν πόλεων, and the reading is found in some MSS. This seems to weaken the sense, but it is not rid of the somewhat rare construction of ἀσφαλείῃ with accusative of the object when it means 'insurance,' but *op.* Demosth. 1 *Olynth.* § 11, τὸ μετασφῆσαι τὴν χώραν.

ἀνὴρ ἰδιώτης 'a man who was in no official position.' Immediately after the battle of Chaeroneia a resolution seems to have been passed that no man should leave the country, but that all should stay and contribute to the safety of the State, the penalty of treason being inflicted on all who departed. Who the man was who tried to go to Samos is not certain. It has generally been supposed that it was the Alcibiades mentioned in *Iscyrus in Ionia* § 53; but it does not seem to tally with what *Iscyrus* says of him, that he remained himself to share the dangers of the people, but was charged with secretly sending away his wife and children.

ὑπὸ τῆς ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλῆς. The Council of the Areopagus would not in ordinary times try such a case. However it might lay an indictment (ἀποπέμπε) before the people. But in times of great distress or alarm the Council of the Areopagus seems to have generally taken a more active and decisive part than on ordinary occasions. See *de Cor.* 133; *Plutarch, Theophr.* 10 (just before Sicambus); *Lycurg.* 12 § 69 (after *Logos Ptolemaeus*).

ἕτερος δ' ἰδιώτης. This is Leocrates, who after six or seven years' absence ventured back to Athens and was prosecuted by *Iscyrus*, whose speech is extant. Weidner strikes out ἰδιώτης, but see *Iscyr.* § 31, χωρὶς ταύτης ταύτης Ἀσφαλείης ἀναδίδεται αἰσικὰ ὡς ἰδιώτης ὅν καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ ἀρχαίου καὶ ἀναδίδεται ἀσφαλείης ἀποσπασθείς. Leocrates appears to have pleaded that his voyage to Rhodes was for ordinary mercantile business. After about two years' residence at Rhodes he returned to Megara, where he stayed two years before venturing back to Athens.

εἰσηγγέσθην 'was impeached' on an εἰσαγγελία, for which see § 223.

ἔσαι αἱ ψῆφοι, in case of an equality of votes there was an acquittal by a time-honoured principle of law. See *Aeschyl. Persae.* 723:

ἀνὴρ δὲ ἐπέφραζεν αἵματος ἡμέρη
ὅσον γὰρ ὄντι τιμωμένον τῶν παλόν.

Antiphon 5 § 51, καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ ἐξ ἑσθῆς γινώσκοντα τοῖς δικασταῖς ἔπειτα μάλιστα ἢ τῶν δικαστῶν, εἰπεὶ γὰρ καὶ τῶν ψήφων ἀρχὴν ἐξ ἑσθῆς γινώσκοντα τοῖς δικασταῖς μάλιστα ἀφῆκε. ὁ τῶν δικαστῶν. *Cp.* also *Eur. Ion.* 7, 1484; *Plut.* 1274. Hence the casting vote in acquittal was called ψῆφος Ἀσφαλείας. *Plu. Cass.* 51, 19.

ὑπερώριστ' ἂν 'would have been banished and still be in banishment.' The force of *δε* with plural is to state something that would have happened in the past, and the effects of which would have continued up to the present. For the word *op.* § 244.

253 ἀπέδρα δ' ἐκ τῆς πόλεως. This charge is ridiculous, if it refers to the visit of Demosthenes in the Peloponnese after Chaeroneia to raise money and allies for Athens. See § 140. He may also refer to his transferring his residence to the Peloponnese, § 209.

ἀποπέμψετε, § 255.

ὡς ληστήν τῶν πραγμάτων 'as a pirate who infests the State.' 'A man who is not useful to the State,' the objective genitive. W. quotes *Suppl. to H.* 535, ληστής ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως ὡς τῶν πραγμάτων.

ἐπ' ὀνομάτων πλέοντα 'cruising through the State on their wonted prey.' The pirate would sail ἐπὶ λυσιστοῦ καὶ ληστείας (*Thucyd.* 4. 9. 10) so the pirate is said to cruise ἐπ' ὀνομάτων.

254 τὸν καιρὸν μέμνησθε. See on *μεμνησθε* § 252. W. reads *ἐπιμνησθε* (ed. 1876).

τὰ Πύθια. The Pythian games were held every four years, the third year of each Olympiad (this was no. 340 or Olymp. 112. 30, some time in April (or according to others in September), at Olympia.

τὸ συνέδριον τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων. This is interpreted by *Brent* and *Weidner* to mean the meeting of the Amphictyons, as in § 164; and W. supposes that the recent movement in the Peloponnese was to be brought before the Council by the Macedonian officers. But this is entirely a conjecture. The phrase is sometimes used more generally, see *Demosth. de Cor.* § 22; and it seems more natural to suppose that the assembly of the Greeks from various states at the Pythian games is here indicated. Aeschines means that the decision they come to now

will be canvassed in this great collection of Greeks in a spirit of hostility already enjoined by the policy recommended by Demosthenes; though there may be a veiled allusion to possible ulterior consequences of a more definite character.

περὶ τοὺς νῦν καιροὺς 'in regard to the present crisis,' or 'dangerous'; i.e. when Alexander is so successful, and when therefore it will be dangerous to honour such an avowed enemy of Macedonia.

§§ 255-259. Remember then it is your own country which will be affected by your vote. Do not let private intimacy sway your feelings; but contrast with him and his empty boasts the glorious services of the heroes of old; and show yourselves true sons of those men who perished with death the man who brought Persia into the country, though not for himself.

255 τὰς φιλοτιμίας μὴ νέμετε ἀλλὰ κρίνετε 'make the attainment of the objects of ambition the result, not of vain boasting, but of diligent industry.' For φιλοτιμία in a common sense of 'honour' cf. § 6 φιλοτιμῶν κτάσθαι. For νέμετε cf. Phil. L. 141, οὐδ' ἡμέτεροι νέμεσθε τὰς τιμὰς διὰ τὰς αἰτίας.

εἰς βελτίω σώματα 'for the use of better persons' § 78. ἀπόθεσθε 'repose,' 'take up.' Cf. [Demosth.] ad. Timotheum § 31, δίδωσι ἀποθεῖναι τὰ Φωκίῳ κατ' ἄλλαν ἐμπειρίαν καὶ φάλαξ Νεκταργέως θύει. Phil. I. 7. 376, πολλὰ δ' ἀποθεῖναι ἀποδύματα δευῖναι, καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν Ἀργεῖ αὖ πάλιν. Cf. also however τὸν κατὰβροχθ, which certainly is commoner in this sense.

οἱ συγκευηγέται ἢ οἱ συγγυμναστοὶ αὐτοῦ 'who were his fellows in the wrestling-field and the gymnasium,' i.e. who were boys and young men with him and attended the same gymnastic school. Thus Onesimos addresses Pyrrhus (Hist. L. L. 709) ὁ συγκευηγὴς καὶ συγγυμναστὴς ἐμῶν.

ἐν ἡλικίᾳ = 'in youth.'

ἀλλ' ἐπασκῶν, κεκτημένους. Demosthenes has not passed his life in anything so much as hunting and exercising; 'but in practising athletics to catch men of property.' Cf. I. § 167, Δημοσθένης γὰρ, ἐπειδὴ τῶν πατρῶν οὐκ ἔστιν ἀφάρτος, ποιεῖ τὴν τῶν πόλεων νεότην τοῖς πλεονεῦσι ἀφάρτος. καὶ ἐν μὲν πατρίδι τελευτήσκειν αἱ δὲ μητέρες Ἀλκίνοιο τὴν οὐσίαν. Lys. 24 § 19, συλλέγεσθαι γὰρ ἀφάρτους ἐν τῇ πόλει, αἱ δὲ αὖ ἐκείων ἀφάρτους, τοῖς δὲ τὰ σθένερα σθένος προλαύουσιν ἐπαυλαύουσιν.

256 ἀλλ' εἰς τὴν ἀλαζονείαν ἀποβλέψαντες. There is no apology to this sentence. We must interpret either as if

that some words have been lost, as Weidner does, making the sentence after ἀφάρτους, or we must suppose that this is a desinated ἀποσπασμός, the orator meaning to end with some such word as ἀποσπασθε, but breaking off with the parenthetical sentence αὐταὶ γὰρ.

Βυζαντίους, Dem. de Cor. 88-90. Byzantium was besieged in B.C. 340 by Philip and relieved by a combined fleet of Athenians, Corinthians, and Rhodians. Demosthenes asserts that it was mainly through his exertions that this help was sent from Athens, and a friendship made with Byzantium. Cf. Plutarch *Life* 17. *Phoc.* 14.

ἀποστήσαι εἰς Ἀκαρνάνας 'caused the Acarnanians to revolt from Philip.' About the time of the relief of Byzantium a league was formed comprising Laconia, Megara, Corinth, Achaia, Corcyra and Leucadia to act under the leadership of Athens, and it seems from this passage and § 37, that Acarnania also joined the League. Phil. *Depr.* 17.

Θηβαίους. Pausanias i.e. ὁ μεγιστὴς ἐπελάπειν τοὺς Διομήδεσι τὰς ἀγῶνας, ὁ δὲ καὶ πρῶτος ἀνταγωνιστὴς τῇ συμμέλει. In Cor. § 211.

ὥσπερ Πειθῶ τρέφοντας 'as though you were nourishing among you a goddess of persuasion.' Cf. the description of Persides by Euripides (see Schol. in Arist. *Eccl.* 535) πειθὸς τις ἐκασθῆναι ἐν τοῖς γένεσσι. Thus Euripides calls M. Cithaerus δὲ σφίλειται μοῖρᾳ πειθῆος καὶ Πειθῆ (Cic. *Brut.* 281). For τρέφοντας at the period before we came to Athens in the middle of the 4th cent. B.C. cf. Arist. *Rhet.* 1431 καὶ Ἀθηναίων ἡμεῖς μὲν ἄνθρωποι καὶ ἡ πόλις τρέφουσι.

257 ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος. See § 207.

ἀντιπαρατεταγμένους ἀγωνίᾳ up to oppose Demosthenes and his friends.

Σόλωνα νόμοις. Solon was credited with all laws of great authority at Athens, § 148. See Dem. *de Cor.* 6. He is here alluded to as a tyrant φιλόσοφος also, that is, as a legislator on philosophical principles, as well as a man of general learning. σοφία καὶ γὰρ ἐν ἀπολογισμοῖς ἐκαστος, ἐν γὰρ καὶ ποικίλοις ἐν βίᾳ. Γρηγόριος δὲ πολλὰ διδάσκωνος, Phil. Sol. 2. [Weidner writes καὶ διὰ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν καὶ κοινὴν ἀγάθειαν.]

258 τὸν τοὺς φόρους τάξαντα τοῖς Ἑλλησιν 'who settled the assessment of contributions for the Greeks,' i.e. in virtue of the embassy of Deius. Plutarch, *Arist.* 24, ταχέως βαλάντων (αἱ Ἑλληνες) κατὰ πόλιν ἐκαστὴν τὸ μέτρον ἡττατο παρὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων Ἀριστίνην καὶ παύσαν αὐτῶ χάσαν τε καὶ προσήλαι ἐπασκόμενος ἔλκει τὸ κατ' αἰῶνα ἐπασθῆναι καὶ

δοξαίω. This assessment was always looked back upon with admiration in after-times, when the *δόξα* was increased. Cf. *de Fals. Leg.* § 23. See above § 181.

τὰς θυγατέρας ἐξέδωκεν 'portioned his daughters,' as Aristides died poor. Plat. *Prot.* 27, καὶ τὰς τὴν Ἀριστίδην ἑταίρουσιν ἐκ τοῦ πλουτοῦ τὰς θυγατέρας ἐξέδωκεν, ὥστε τὰς πόλεως τὸν γάμον ἐγγιστὴς καὶ πρὸς τὸν πλοῦτον ἀνέστη ἐκ τέρψης ἡφισαμένης.

σχετλιάζοντα, § 241.

τῷ τῆς δικαιοσύνης προπηλακισμῷ 'the dishonest done to his title of the Just.'

"Αρθμιον...Μήδων χρυσίον. Before the campaign which ended at Plataea Mardonius sent agents into Greece to buy the support of certain persons in the various cities (Herod. 9, 2; Diodor. xi. 28). Among these appears to have been Artimios of Zoloe in the Troad. He was captured, and on the motion of Themistocles was declared *ἄδικος* with all of his descendants, that is apparently, incapable of being a citizen of Athens or any state in alliance with her. See Demosth. *3 Phil.* § 42, τί οὖν λέγει τὰ γεγραμμένα: Ἀρθμιόν, φησὶν, ὃ Περσέως ὁ Ζηλαιοτὴν, ἀδικὸς ἔστω καὶ πόλεμος τὸν πόλεμον τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν συμμαχῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ γένος. καὶ ἡ αἰτία γεγραπταὶ δὲ ἔχει τὸ ἐγκρίτο. ὅτι τὸν χρυσὸν τῶν Μήδων ἐκ Περσέως ἠγοράσθησαν ὑπάρχον. See also Plat. *Prot.* 6. Diodorus, *in Anabasis*, § 24.

πρόξενον. See § 42.

παρ' οὐδέν μὲν ἦλθον 'were within an ace of putting him to death.' This use of *παρ* is common. *παρὰ πόδα γράσειν* (Thucyd. 4, 106, 3), *παρὰ δόλῳ ἢ διαφύγῃ δ' ἀπέδραστο* (id. 7, 71, 4), *παρ' ἐλέγῳ ἀπέφυγε* (Empir. *I. P.* 87): but *παρ' οὐδέν* is a somewhat strange exaggeration of the phrase, and I should be inclined to suggest *παρ' ὀλίγον ἢ οὐδέν*.

259 οὐ κομίσαντα, who has not indeed brought Persian gold into the country, as Artimios did, to distribute to others, but who has accepted it himself and has it in his possession to this day.

Θεμιστοκλέα. Themistocles and the *Μαθηθολογοὶ* are invoked to bring odium upon Demosthenes for accepting Persian money (τοὺς Περσικὰν χρυσίον): but of course the gist of his accusation depends upon the truth of the next clause *μετὰ τὸν βασιλεῖον ἀπὸ λόγου τοῦ Ἑλλήνων ἀπειπαρττεῖν*,—which Demosthenes can easily show was not the case: for the Helenism of the Macedonian government was only admitted by a minority in Greece: he and those who sided with him would plead that they accepted the Persian gold to defend Greece

against an equally alien enemy, who for the moment was the more formidable of the two.

260 I have spoken my utmost in behalf of all that is highest and best. It rests with you, O judges, now to vote for the right.

The end of the last section 'was the true climax. But Aeschines felt the pressure of the Attic rule. He must not end thus. The storm must be laid in a final harmony. And so he passed on to the most tremendous failure that ever followed so close upon a triumph.' John *Attic Orators*, vol. ii, p. 407.

παιδεία, ἣ διαγιγνώσκωμεν 'that culture and refinement by which we learn to distinguish between good and evil.' Cf. § 147, 170, and 194a; *Protag.* 320 c, *παιδεία καὶ μὴτις καὶ παιδαγωγὴ καὶ αἴτιον ἂν τὸ πρὸς τῇ τοιαύτῃ διακρίσει αἴτιον ἐσται ὁ πῦρ, παρ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ἑρμῆ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ ἑστῆς καὶ ἀδελφότητος ὅτι τὸ μὲν δοκῶν τὸ δὲ αἰσῶν καὶ τὸ μὲν καλὸν, τὸ δὲ αἰσχρὸν.*

βεβοήθηκα *sc. ἴσως*. 'Thus appear I to have, with me, been aided by Demosthenes in the case.' § 127.

καὶ ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων λόγων καὶ ἐκ τῶν παραλελειμένων 'as well from what I have said as from what I have left unsaid. A rhetorical commonplace, see *Id.* 14, 17; 21, 24 (W.).

APPENDIX A.

ON THE LAWS CONCERNING THE PROCLAMATION OF CROWNS. §§ 32-48.

It is generally admitted that in regard to his first count, that the law forbade the voting a crown to a man who was *proederos*. Aeschines was legally in the right. The plea put forward by Demosthenes that it was proposed to give him the crown, not for his conduct in office, but for his extra-official services and benefactions, cannot stand discussion.

The question in regard to the second count, that the law ordered that a proclamation of such a crown should be made only in the Bouleuterion or the Pryx, according as it had been voted by the Boule or the Pnyx, is a somewhat more complicated one.

The view put forward by Aeschines is to this effect. There are two laws, the latter of which he calls the *Demosthenian Law* (§ 35). Demosthenes he supposes will quote the second in his favour. Now it is impossible, according to the Athenian constitution, that two contradictory laws should exist together, and they are to be reconciled as follows.

(A) By Law NUMBER I. all proclamations of crowns are confined to the Bouleuterion or Pryx.

But this regulation was so worded that it had been held to refer only to such crowns as were voted by the Demos or the Boule; and crowns (1) given by a man's wife or deme, (2) by foreign states, were frequently proclaimed in the theatre; as well as (3) other matters of a more private nature, such as the liberation of slaves. These things were done without an appeal to the people, and came to be regarded as a nuisance to the festival (το θύσιον βλάπτον § 44); and accordingly there was enacted

(B) Law NUMBER II. ο Διορισμός εἶναι. This had no reference to persons crowned by Demos or Boule,—their proclamations were confined to the Pryx and Bouleuterion by Law I., and were not now in question. It referred solely to the second class of crowns, those voted by Demos and tribes,

and by foreign states, and by the proclamations of emancipation. In regard to these it ordered that no crown voted by dems or tribes should be proclaimed in the theatre, and no act of emancipation. The only crowns left untouched are those given by foreign states. Therefore the following clauses of the law,—'No crown shall be proclaimed in the theatre without a special vote of the people (ὅτι οὐκ ἐπὶ δημοκρατίᾳ ὁ νόμος), and if such a proclamation does take place the crown shall be taken from the person and dedicated in a temple,' can only refer to these foreign crowns.

He accordingly insists that Demosthenes cannot support his case by referring to this second law; for it does not touch the question of his crown, which is to be voted by Boule and Demos, and comes under the first law.

To this Demosthenes (loc. cit. § 120-2) answers very briefly by quoting a law which contains the saving clause:—*ἢ ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου ἢ ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου*.

If there were two laws such as Aeschines describes, and if Demosthenes is here quoting only the second of the two, this is no answer at all. But if Law I. had this clause, and if Aeschines suppressed it (ἢ ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου, τὸν δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου, or τὸν δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου, § 121), then Demosthenes may be held perhaps to have indicated that by a special vote of Demos or Boule such a proclamation was *νόμιμος*. Blass (*de Attische Reden*, edition, pt. 2, p. 186-7) holds with Kirchhoff that Aeschines did so to vitiate the law. It seems surprising that an orator should venture to do so, when the law itself was within everyone's comprehension, and the omission would give such a handle for a retort to his opponent; and it is remarkable that Demosthenes entirely evades the point of there being two laws, and merely draws the subject and passes to a general criticism of his opponent's method of attack. It looks very much like the famous instruction to counsel, 'Necesses amice the Plaintiff's Attorney.' I feel therefore considerable hesitation in accepting Blass' decision that Aeschines had not the law on his side. I am more inclined to believe that technically he was right; but that, in spite of the law, custom was against him; and that though the clause *ὅτι οὐκ ἐπὶ δημοκρατίᾳ ὁ νόμος*, or *πᾶσι τοῖς δήμοις ὁ νόμος* (whether only in the second or in both laws), did not really cover the case of Chasiphon's proposal,—as we might see perhaps if we possessed the laws,—yet that it had been hastily allowed to authorize such proclamations at various times; and that, as Blass says, Aeschines' assertion that what was constantly occurring was unlawful, was likely to surprise everyone. Nevertheless it might be the fact, for all that; although without having the text of the laws before us it is not possible to decide with certainty.

APPENDIX B.

ON ΔΟΛΟΠΛΗΤΕΙΑΣ ΕΠΙ ΔΙΕΤΕΣ ΕΠΙΣΤΗ § 122.

Aeschines is probably not using the words of the Amphictyons, but is employing a phrase familiar to Athenians to express a certain time of life, as the second Scholiast says, *καὶ οὕτως πάλιν τὸ λέγειν ἐπὶ τρισὶν ἔτεσιν*.

The question is, what period in the life of a youth is meant?

(1) Didymus is quoted in the first scholium as saying that it meant from 16 to 18, at which latter period a youth became *ἐπὶ δέκῃ* (being said *ἐπὶ δέκῃ* before, or called *προσδεδωμένος*), and was entered in the register of his deme as eligible for office (*τὸ ἀρχαρχικὴν γραμματεῖαν*), remaining *ἐπὶ δέκῃ* two years. This view is accepted by Weimer in his note, ad loc. Cf. Bekker's *Chrestom.* p. 298.

(2) But a second Scholiast says that it means the period between 18 and 20, during which he served as *παιστρον*, not being liable to foreign service until 20.

This is supported by Pollux (8, 105):

περίπολοι· ἐξήδη πεποιθότες τῇ χώραν φ-λατταίῃ, δευτέρῃ δὲ ἀνελκόμενοι τὸ στρατιωτικόν· καὶ ἐν τῷ τῷ ἑβδόμῳ ἔτη ἀποκαταβεῖα ἐπὶ τὴν γραμματεῖαν, ὅπου δὲ ἐν τῷ πρῶτῳ ἔτει ἀποκαταβεῖα εἰσάγεται δὲ ἐν τῇ γραμματεῖᾳ τῇ ἀρχαρχικῇ γραμματεῖᾳ καὶ ἀποκαταβεῖα ἐν Ἀγραιῶν.

Against Didymus also, it may be urged that he himself affirms that at 14 a boy is said *παιστρον*, and there does not seem therefore any reason for postponing the period two years later, at 16.

Again, against identifying the period described by *ἐπὶ δέκῃ* with the time of service as *παιστρον* is the assertion of Aristotle (ap. Harpoc. and Suidas s.v. *παιστρον*) that the necessary period of such service was one and not two years; which is illustrated by the case of Aeschines (*de t. Leg.* § 167) that as soon as he had ceased to be a *παιστρον* he served two years as *παιστρον*, as though it were a work of supererogation.

I think the explanation of these apparent contradictions is to be sought in the variety of usage as to the period in life at which the *ἐπὶ δέκῃ* of youths took place, a variety extending, according to circumstances or the wish of parents, between 14 and 18, this last being the outside limit. When the *ἐπὶ δέκῃ* had taken place, a certain period had to elapse before the youth obtained full citizenship, was entered in the register, and took the oath; this period is described by the phrase *ἐπὶ δέκῃ*, and during a part of it at any rate he served as *παιστρον*, and sometimes during the whole. Until the end of it he could not exercise the rights of property in some cases which the law gives him. Thus the son of an heiress only took control of the family property when he had completed this period: see [Dem.] *in Steph.* 13, § 20, *ἐν τῷ ἑβδόμῳ ἐπὶ δέκῃ*. Isoc. 8 § 31, *ἐπὶ δέκῃ ἐπὶ δέκῃ ἑβδόμῳ*. Id. 19 § 12, *ἐπὶ δέκῃ ἑβδόμῳ*. Suidas (s.v. *ἑβδόμῳ*) curiously seems to confine the phrase to this particular class of cases. That a youth could perform some acts of a public nature before this period seems to follow from Lysias 12 § 31, where the speaker says that he initiated a prosecution *ἐπὶ τῷ ἑβδόμῳ ἑβδόμῳ*. And id. 32 § 9 where a boy is told to shut for himself *ἐπὶ τῷ ἑβδόμῳ καὶ δευτέρῳ ἑβδόμῳ*.

But if we accept the account of Pollux, we must regard the *ἐπὶ δέκῃ* as not perfect at this point; and my view, therefore, is that the period indicated by *ἐπὶ δέκῃ* was that between *ἐπὶ δέκῃ* (which varied from the 14th to the 18th year) and the formal entry in the *ἀρχαρχικῇ γραμματεῖᾳ*. This latter could not take place until the service as *παιστρον* had been performed. But some put this off till 18 placing themselves meanwhile in *ἐπὶ δέκῃ*, others performed it at once. But whatever the period came, or whether it was really two years or less or more, it was equally described by the phrase *ἐπὶ δέκῃ*.

APPENDIX C

NOTES ON THE TEXT

[A stands for three codices named by Bekker *cc.* l. 2. A for these same together with a fourth which he calls h. B for four codices which Bekker calls a. m. n. These two groups of mss., though derived from one ancestor, have special features in which as groups they differ from each other, and agree as between the members of the groups. The readings of many other mss. are given by Bekker, Schmidt and Weidner; but in the following notes on the Text I have only noticed the variations of these two groups, and in them only when their variation is of definite importance in construing the text: which will be found to be more often in agreement with that of Franke in the *Tentamen* (1883) than with any other. Its deviation from the text of the Zurich edition (BS) is also noticed; and a full account given of the emendations of A. Weidner (W. 1872 and 1878). These emendations appear to me to be often violent and unnecessary. In at least forty-four places he omits one or more words on the ground that A and B vary their order, in many cases I believe without improvement, and in some with actual damage to the text. Another frequent ground of excision is the supposed superfluity of explanation conveyed by certain words or phrases. But it is sometimes necessary to remember that retention of even well-known truths is effective with a popular audience; and moreover that Aeschines was not a master of his art as was Demosthenes; and that an unerring instinct as to what is or is not superfluous is perhaps the surest note of such a master. Some of Weidner's excisions in the edition of 1872 are restored in that of 1878, and with these restorations I have generally found myself in agreement. To balance them he has seen the reason in 1878 to suspect words which he had passed over in 1872, so that the total result is a very considerable alteration of the text. Though I have not often followed him, there can be no doubt that his emendations have considerable value, and deserve to be considered in each case. I have therefore given I believe all of them in the subjoined notes.]

§ 1. ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι. So all but two mss. Weidner adds *ἀνδρες θνητοὶ*. He quotes Harpocration s.v. *παράκλησις*, where this opening sentence is given with ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι. Cp. Suidas and Photius *loc.* under the same word. Their testimony is not cumulative, as they appear to have copied the article the one from the other.

δεύτερον δὲ. (Cicero) A. ἵνα πάντα δώσω. From this W. gathers that *δεύτερον δὲ* is a gloss on *ἔπειτα*.

οὐδεμίαν ἰσχύειν. W. *οὐδεμίαν δὲ*. But the simple infinitive more fully represents a combined infinitive attached to *ἵνα*.

§ 2. ἐν' ἐξῇ. BS. *ἐξῇ*.

ὥσπερ οἱ νόμοι κελίουσιν omitted by W, after Bala. B. *ἡς προστασίας*. χωρὶς omitted by W. with A.

§ 3. τὰ ψηφίσματα. W. brackets. Westernmunt omits.

εἰσαγγέλλειν. Bala. *ἀποδοῖ τὰ εἰσαγγέλλειν* and is followed by Schmidt and Weidner. But the *ποδοῖ* and *ποδοῖ* are *ποδοῖ* ἀπὸ τοῦ ποδοῖ with *ἐπὶ λέγει*. See Cicero *de off. p. 136*.

δυναστείας. W. *ἐπὶ δυναστείας*.

περιποιούμενοι A. *περιποιούμεαι* B.

§ 6. ὅτι ὅταν. In 1872 W. inserted *ὅτι* to give the sense of *ταύτην*, but restored it to its position in 1878.

§ 7. τήνδε τὴν ἡμέραν. Some mss. have *ἐν τῇδε*. Bala. omits W. omits *ἡμέραν*. I should rather compare *ἐν τῇδε* with the phrase *ἐν τῇδε* in the *De oratore* (p. 20).

§ 8. γεγραφότα ὅτι ποιοῦσιν αἱ πόλεις τὰς πόλεις. Bala. omits, and is supported by A.

§ 9. τὰς μεγίστας ἀρχάς. Some mss. have *τὰς μεγ. ἀρχάς*. Bala. omits W. omits *τὰς* and *ἀρχάς*. In 1872, but restored *τὰς μεγίστας* in 1878. *τὰς μεγίστας* is not omitted by Cicero for the same reason as in 1872.

§ 10. ἐκ τῶν δικαστηρίων. W. brackets in 1878.

§ 11. κρείττους. *κρείττους* λέγει τὴν πόλιν. Bala. omits W. In 1878 he also brackets *τῶν πόλεων* γὰρ (ἐκείναι) αἱ πόλεις [ἐκείναι] and *ποιοῦσιν τὰ ψηφίσματα*. Bala. omits.

§ 13. ἐκείνας εἶναι. W. brackets *ἐκείνας*.

§ 14. ὁ νομοθέτης. W. omits.

§ 15. ἐπαδὴ...ἀρχοῦσι. W. brackets the whole clause.

§ 16. κακοίργον καὶ σοφιστήν. Thus 180 m. W. κα-
κοίργον ἀνέκδοτον καὶ σ. Bahr κακοίργον σοφιστήν.

§ 19. διαχειρίσαντας. Bako and W. suggest, but is not the artist required? 'who after having had the misadventure.'

προσοδων del. Bake and W.

§ 20. εὐθύνας[διδόναι]. W. Cob. omit, cf. § 15. The ἄγαν-
τον here W. ἀγεί. W. ἄγαν. *corruptio didonai* ἀγαν omitted in
Λ^h. W.'s emendation seems unnecessary and far from an
improvement.

#21. λέγει. W. Frazer in 1878. χρήματα. J. G. Frazer in 1878. παλιν υπεύθυνον. W. Frazer in 1878.

tās oīsias tās tōn υπειθύνων. W. *to tas hypethynon.*
— *tās* in 1878.

§ 23. καὶ ἀνεξίτητον οὐκ. W. I suppose ἄν' ἂν ἀνέξῃ το
ἀνεξίτητον. But in fact it is very hard to say which was the
easier on the other.

§ 23. δέκα· εὐληφώς. W. 10011. [1878/2] 1000. 1001.
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 1111. 1112. 1113. 1114. 1115. 1116. 1117. 1118. 1119. 1120.
 1121. 1122. 1123. 1124. 1125. 1126. 1127. 1128. 1129. 1130.
 1131. 1132. 1133. 1134. 1135. 1136. 1137. 1138. 1139. 1140.
 1141. 1142. 1143. 1144. 1145. 1146. 1147. 1148. 1149. 1150.
 1151. 1152. 1153. 1154. 1155. 1156. 1157. 1158. 1159. 1160.
 1161. 1162. 1163. 1164. 1165. 1166. 1167. 1168. 1169. 1170.
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 1641. 1642.

§ 21. περαιτέρω (τότοι). W. is usual among, because the order is reversed in the two classes of *nos*.

#25. καὶ νεώριον. *Hebr. and Samaritan Aramaic. W. and G. 1891.*

§ 27. καὶ δικαστηρίων ἡγεμονίας ἐλάμβανε οὐκ W. οὐκ
 Lat. οὐκ. ἄλλοι οὐκ. μήτος οὐκ. W. οὐκ. οὐκ. οὐκ. οὐκ. οὐκ. οὐκ.
 the οὐκ. Lat. οὐκ. § 67.

In 1978 the poet, but is not yet better! See *Latin Language* (1978), p. 110 & 4. Schmitt counts the words.

* 28. εὐθὺς. HS, εὐθύων. βραχὺς καὶ σαφὴς καὶ ταχύ λείων.

[πρῶτον] προειπὲν . . . W. 'verbalis est actus prophetiae'

§ 29. καὶ τῶν δημοσίων ἐπιστάται αἱ W.
αἵρετοί. W. has *lost* in 1879.

§ 30. ἐαυτῶν. W. αὐτῶν. See *Monody* p. 121. οὐ
ἐκείνων has αὐτῶν, the rest αὐτῶν.

§ 54. Κτησιφῶν δὲ ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ W. K. ...

ἀγωνιζομένων καινών 11. XV. 1140. 1141. 1142. 1143. 1144. 1145. 1146. 1147. 1148. 1149. 1150. 1151. 1152. 1153. 1154. 1155. 1156. 1157. 1158. 1159. 1160. 1161. 1162. 1163. 1164. 1165. 1166. 1167. 1168. 1169. 1170. 1171. 1172. 1173. 1174. 1175. 1176. 1177. 1178. 1179. 1180. 1181. 1182. 1183. 1184. 1185. 1186. 1187. 1188. 1189. 1190. 1191. 1192. 1193. 1194. 1195. 1196. 1197. 1198. 1199. 1200. 1201. 1202. 1203. 1204. 1205. 1206. 1207. 1208. 1209. 1210. 1211. 1212. 1213. 1214. 1215. 1216. 1217. 1218. 1219. 1220. 1221. 1222. 1223. 1224. 1225. 1226. 1227. 1228. 1229. 1230. 1231. 1232. 1233. 1234. 1235. 1236. 1237. 1238. 1239. 1240. 1241. 1242. 1243. 1244. 1245. 1246. 1247. 1248. 1249. 1250. 1251. 1252. 1253. 1254. 1255. 1256. 1257. 1258. 1259. 1260. 1261. 1262. 1263. 1264. 1265. 1266. 1267. 1268. 1269. 1270. 1271. 1272. 1273. 1274. 1275. 1276. 1277. 1278. 1279. 1280. 1281. 1282. 1283. 1284. 1285. 1286. 1287. 1288. 1289. 1290. 1291. 1292. 1293. 1294. 1295. 1296. 1297. 1298. 1299. 1300. 1301. 1302. 1303. 1304. 1305. 1306. 1307. 1308. 1309. 1310. 1311. 1312. 1313. 1314. 1315. 1316. 1317. 1318. 1319. 1320. 1321. 1322. 1323. 1324. 1325. 1326. 1327. 1328. 1329. 1330. 1331. 1332. 1333. 1334. 1335. 1336. 1337. 1338. 1339. 1340. 1341. 1342. 1343. 1344. 1345. 1346. 1347. 1348. 1349. 1350. 1351. 1352. 1353. 1354. 1355. 1356. 1357. 1358. 1359. 1360. 1361. 1362. 1363. 1364. 1365. 1366. 1367. 1368. 1369. 1370. 1371. 1372. 1373. 1374. 1375. 1376. 1377. 1378. 1379. 1380. 1381. 1382. 1383. 1384. 1385. 1386. 1387. 1388. 1389. 1390. 1391. 1392. 1393. 1394. 1395. 1396. 1397. 1398. 1399. 1400. 1401. 1402. 1403. 1404. 1405. 1406. 1407. 1408. 1409. 1410. 1411. 1412. 1413. 1414. 1415. 1416. 1417. 1418. 1419. 1420. 1421. 1422. 1423. 1424. 1425. 1426. 1427. 1428. 1429. 1430. 1431. 1432. 1433. 1434. 1435. 1436. 1437. 1438. 1439. 1440. 1441. 1442. 1443. 1444. 1445. 1446. 1447. 1448. 1449. 1450. 1451. 1452. 1453. 1454. 1455. 1456. 1457. 1458. 1459. 1460. 1461. 1462. 1463. 1464. 1465. 1466. 1467. 1468. 1469. 1470. 1471. 1472. 1473. 1474. 1475. 1476. 1477. 1478. 1479. 1480. 1481. 1482. 1483. 1484. 1485. 1486. 1487. 1488. 1489. 1490. 1491. 1492. 1493. 1494. 1495. 1496. 1497. 1498. 1499. 1500. 1501. 1502. 1503. 1504. 1505. 1506. 1507. 1508. 1509. 1510. 1511. 1512. 1513. 1514. 1515. 1516. 1517. 1518. 1519. 1520. 1521. 1522. 1523. 1524. 1525. 1526. 1527. 1528. 1529. 1530. 1531. 1532. 1533. 1534. 1535. 1536. 1537. 1538. 1539. 1540. 1541. 1542. 1543. 1544. 1545. 1546. 1547. 1548. 1549. 1550. 1551. 1552. 1553. 1554. 1555. 1556. 1557. 1558. 1559. 1560. 1561. 1562. 1563. 1564. 1565. 1566. 1567. 1568. 1569. 1570. 1571. 1572. 1573. 1574. 1575. 1576. 1577. 1578. 1579. 1580. 1581. 1582. 1583. 1584. 1585. 1586. 1587. 1588. 1589. 1590. 1591. 1592. 1593. 1594. 1595. 1596. 1597. 1598. 1599. 1600. 1601. 1602. 1603. 1604. 1605. 1606. 1607. 1608. 1609. 1610. 1611. 1612. 1613. 1614. 1615. 1616. 1617. 1618. 1619. 1620. 1621. 1622. 1623. 1624. 1625. 1626. 1627. 1628. 1629. 1630. 1631. 1632. 1633. 1634. 1635. 1636. 1637. 1638. 1639. 1640. 1641. 1642. 1643. 1644. 1645. 1646. 1647. 1648. 1649. 1650. 1651. 1652. 1653. 1654. 1655. 1656. 1657. 1658. 1659. 1660. 1661. 1662. 1663. 1664. 1665. 1666. 1667. 1668. 1669. 1670. 1671. 1672. 1673. 1674. 1675. 1676. 1677. 1678. 1679. 1680. 1681. 1682. 1683. 1684. 1685. 1686. 1687. 1688. 1689. 1690. 1691. 1692. 1693. 1694. 1695. 1696. 1697. 1698. 1699. 1700. 1701. 1702. 1703. 1704. 1705. 1706. 1707. 1708. 1709. 1710. 1711. 1712. 1713. 1714. 1715. 1716. 1717. 1718. 1719. 1720. 1721. 1722. 1723. 1724. 1725. 1726. 1727. 1728. 1729. 1730. 1731. 1732. 1733. 1734. 1735. 1736. 1737. 1738. 1739. 1740. 1741. 1742. 1743. 1744. 1745. 1746. 1747. 1748. 1749. 1750. 1751. 1752. 1753. 1754. 1755. 1756. 1757. 1758. 1759. 1760. 1761. 1762. 1763. 1764. 1765. 1766. 1767. 1768. 1769. 1770. 1771. 1772. 1773. 1774. 1775. 1776. 1777. 1778. 1779. 1780. 1781. 1782. 1783. 1784. 1785. 1786. 1787. 1788. 1789. 1790. 1791. 1792. 1793. 1794. 1795. 1796. 1797. 1798. 1799. 1800. 1801. 1802. 1803. 1804. 1805. 1806. 1807. 1808. 1809. 1810. 1811. 1812. 1813. 1814. 1815. 1816. 1817. 1818. 1819

s 35. οὐροῦσι. W. *destruunt*, but *destrui* above is rather against this being used in a different sense. 1878. μετατρέχει.

§ 36. τῆδε τῇ γραφῇ. BS. γραφῇ τῆδε. ἕτερον δ' εἶναι
(νόμον) om. W. φήσουσιν. W. brackets in 1878.

[τὸν] δεδοκότα sm. W. but the aorist participle would be more natural without τὸν. He restores it in 1878.

§ 38. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔχει. W. *etc.*, which to my mind weakens the sentence.

§ 39. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀναιρεῖν τῶν νόμων τοὺς δὲ καταλείπειν.
W. H. Dindorf.

§ 40. ἀληθὴς [ἦν]. W. omitt., wrongly I think.

41. ὁθεν δὲ [δῆ]. W. ann. Nestora in 1878.

ἐλευθέρους, μάρτυρας [τῆς ἀπελευθερίας] τοὺς Ἕλληνας ποιοῦμενοι. The first word is Colossians' commendation of ἀπελευθερίᾳ, who also awaits τῇ ἀπελευθερίᾳ. Schultze and W. both follow him.

§ 42. ἡ καὶ ἄλλης τινὸς πόλεως. W. *Interpret* for his usual meaning, that one group of us, like τοὺς ἄλλους.

[44. ἐπὶ τῶν [φυλετῶν καὶ] δημοτῶν. W. omits. In 1578 *Imolais* [ἐπὶ τῶν δημοτῶν] ἀπὸ [καὶ περὶ τῶν φυλετῶν] ἀνέφερον].

§ 45. εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. W. after
 ὁμοῦ μετὰ αὐτοῦ.

στέφανον μέντοι after *ἐξουσαν* and *ἀντιπαστα* is omitted by Codex, and bracketed by W.

καὶ φυλετῶν σπ. W. Α ἰσὺς τῶν φυλετῶν, Β φυλετῶν.

§ 46. μέγα sm. W. as usual because in A and B the order is reversed. A *συνολογὸν* μέγα. B *μέγα συνολογὸν* λίαν.

καταγνῶναι [τοῦ δήμου τῶν Ἀθηναίων] om. W.

καὶ καθιέρωσιν em. W. with some mss.

§ 47. στέφανον [ἀναρρηθόντα] am. W. as A and D never do. In 1878 omits πρεσβυτεροὺς ἀναρρηθόντα.

μὴ κηρύττεσθαι. W. μ. 2.

στέφανον [ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ]. W. omitt.

§ 48. γέγραθεν. W. ὅτι γέγραθεν. A has γέγραθεν.
B γεγραπας (as Frankl.).

§ 52. ἐπὶ τῆς νεώς om. W. [Most mss. have πρὸς.]

§ 53. $\delta\tau\omega$. W. $\delta\tau\omega$. 1-7- $\delta\tau\omega$.

§ 56. τῶν [ἄλλων] πολιτῶν (B) om. W. A has τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων. He restores it in 1878.

ὅσοι δὴ. W. ὅσοι γε.

ἀποκρίνομαι. W. ἀπὸ δὲ.

§ 57. προσδοκῶ. Cob. om. δέσσει.

Δημοσθένην [αἷτιον γεγενημένον] om. W.

τῇ [τοῦ λόγου] τάξει om. W., as A and B reverse the order τὰς τῆς in 1872, τὰς τῆς in 1878.

[ποιεῖσθαι] μέλλειν om. W. because A and B reverse, but would not a glossator have written γρηγορεῖν?

§ 59. ψευδεῖς οἰκοθεν [ἐνίοτε] δόξας ἔχοντες om. W., as A and B reverse ψευδεῖς οἰκοθεν.

κατὰ τῶν λογισμῶν om. W.

§ 61. τοὺς [παρ' ἐκείνου] πρέσβεις om. W.

ἐκδοτον δὲ [Φιλίππῳ] πεποιηκότα om. W., as A and B reverse Φιλίππῳ and πεποιηκότα.

§ 62. χρόνος. βουλευτής. W. βουλευτής.

§ 63. ἔδωκε. BS. ἔδωκε.

§ 64. προσέχετε [τόν νοῦν] om. W., as A and B reverse the order.

§ 65. ἐπ' αὐτὸν [ἤδη] στρατεία om. W., as A and B reverse ἐπ' αὐτὸν and ἤδη.

παρηγγέλλετο. Cob. W. παρηγγέλλετο as in § 116. Γραῖο παρηγγέλλετο, om. § 116.

§ 66. Δημοσθένης. om. W.

§ 67. προάγων. BS. προάγων (pro Graeco).

[ἤδη] παρῶσιν om. W., as A and B reverse the order.

§ 68. ἀκούσατε τῶν ψηφισμάτων. W. τῶν ψηφισμάτων αὐτῶν ἀκούσατε. There is no objection to αὐτῶν, though it is not positively necessary. A and B vary the order; A has αὐτῶν, B αὐτῶν ἀκούσατε.

§ 69. ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι. W. omits and writes ὦ γε τῆς πατρίδος.

§ 70. μετὰ κοινοῦ συνεδρίου om. W.

§ 71. τοιαύτην τινὰ δόξαν. W. τοιαύτην τε ἐπαύριον. Cp. I. 49, καὶ τοιαύτην τε ἐπαύριον ἀποδοῦναι. But here the τῆς δόξης makes all the difference. W. restores the word in 1878.

παρῆμεν. W. from Cob. παρῆμεν, but wrongly; see note. He restores παρῆμεν in 1878.

προκαταλαβόν. BS. προκαταλαβόντων.

τῶν χθὲς εἰρημένων. W. ἔχον. The evidence for the two forms is not very satisfactory. χθὲς is not found elsewhere in the Oration except in a fragment of Aeschines, see Aeschines 307 n. Cp. Arist. N. 175. χθὲς is also rare. Cp. Dem. de Cor. 130; Thucyd. 2, 113; Hom. 2, 54. On the whole, it seems safest to stand by the MSS.

§ 72. ἐρωτήματ' ἡρώτα. W. in 1878, which I have accepted. So φασματῶν. A. omits τῶν.

κατὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐπακροῦν (B) W. 1878.

§ 74. Φιλοκράτης om. W. after Thuc.

μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων γραμμάτων om. W.

Δημοσθένης om. W.

ἐν ᾧ γέγραπται. W. after Μακρίδουσι; Γραῖο notes it.

§ 76. μοί [ἔστι] om. W. as A and B reverse.

[μόνον καὶ] πρῶτον om. W. as A and B reverse. 1878 τῶν καὶ πρῶτον.

καὶ κολακείαν om. W.

§ 78. οἱ δέ ποτ' ἑμᾶς ποιήσεται. W. οἱ δέ ποτ' ὅν ἑμᾶς... ποιήσεται. But the indicative better agrees to supply the definite ποιεῖν in ὅν ποιεῖν; ὅν ἑμᾶς is a supposititious case.

§ 80. καὶ τὰς τε ἐν Φωκεύσι. W. τὰς τε ἐν Φωκίᾳ, and it is καὶ τὰς ἐν Φωκίᾳ, τοῦτο τὸ Dem. VII. § 112, 113.

§ 81. [ἐπὶ τούτων] ἐπὶ ᾧ ἡ πόλις. W.

πονηρὸς πιστός. W. ἐπὶ πιστός. Restoration in 1878.

§ 82. ἀρχὰς [αὐτοῖς] om. W., as A and B reverse.

§ 83. τὰς [τῆς εἰρήνης] συνθήκας W. omits. A has τὰς πάλαι τῆς εἰρήνης.

§ 84. ταῦτα τρία μέγιστα. W. τὰς τριῶν.

§ 85. περὶ BS. τῶν.

§ 88. [ἀγαθὰ] ἐγένοντο om. W., as A and B reverse the order. But he restores it in 1878.

μάχη W. ἰσχυροῦς.

[μέγιστόν] ἐστι [κακόν]. W. ἐστὶ βαρυτάτων.

ἀναξίους [αὐτοῦ] om. W. as A and B reverse the order.

§ 89. διαλίπων [χρόνον]. W. ἰσχυροῦς.

§ 90. ἀδικήσας δὲ Φιλίππον κάκειθεν ἀποδράς. W. ἀδικήσας δὲ κάκειθεν ἀποδράς.

§ 91. ἐλπίδας [κενάς] om. W., A and B reversing the order.

ἢ τε Φιλίππου καὶ ἢ Θηβαίων om. W.

δεύτερον δ' [ἴκον...συμμαχίαν] om. W.

§ 92. Δημοσθένης. W. brackets.

§ 94. ὁ Χαλκιδεύς. W. brackets.

Εὐβοϊκὸν [συνέδριον] om. W., the mss. varying the order.

§ 96. πεζήν. BS. πύκνῃ.

§ 98. πλέον A. πλεονας B. W. πλέον. I have adopted the reading of A as the true Attic. See Meisterhans *Gramm. der Att. Inschr.* p. 120. Cohn regarded πλεον as the true Attic form, but this is not borne out by inscriptions.

§ 100. γράφει [κελεύων] ἐλίσθαι B, W. omits; A has καὶ κελεύει.

τὰ πέντε τάλαντα om. W.

καὶ πάλιν ἑτέροις [αἰρείσθαι] εἰς Ὁρεὸν (πρὸς τοῖς Ὁρείταις) [πρέσβεις]. W. omits words in square brackets, om. those in round. Franke objects to αἰρεῖσθαι after ἐλίσθαι, and seems to think the sentence much corrupted.

δεήσονται. BS. ἀπεκρίθη αὐτοῖς.

§ 101. καὶ τὰς τριήρεις om. W. de Thoiry καὶ τὰς τριήρεις.

τὴν ἀλαζονείαν. W. τὴν ἀλαζονείαν.

[ἀνάγνωθι καὶ] τοῦ om. W. and before τοῦ insert αἰετῶν.

τῶν Ἀθηναίων. W. τῶν Ἀθηναίων.

§ 104. ὅτι ἐλαχίστου χαλκοῦ οὐδὲν δέοιτο. W. ὅτι καὶ ἀλλὰ χρυσῶν χαλκοῦ δ' οὐδὲν δέοιτο. In 1878 Bz. πρόσθεν χρυσῶν χαλκοῦ χαλκοῦ δ' οὐδὲν δέοιτο.

εἰσπράττειν B. εἰσπράττειν W with A.

§ 106. [αὐτοῦ] πλημμελημάτων om. W., A and B varying the order.

§ 107. Κιρραῖον. W. Κριταῖον, and omits ἀνασπασμένον. He refers to Harpocrit. But Harpocrit. has Κιρραῖον, and cannot be held to support the omission of ἀνασπασμένον. The strongest argument is the repetition of the word.

§ 108. ἀνδρὸς—διατετριφότος om. W., as does C. Let on the ground that such a description of Solon before an Athenian audience is *periphrastic*; cp. § 257. It is very difficult to say what ornamental surplusage an Orator might think in place. It is Aeschines' cue here to dwell much on the pety and justifiableness of the war; and to make that clear he may have

thought it well to emphasize the character of Solon lowever familiar to his hearers.

In 1878 W. brackets Ἀθηναίων.

§ 109. τὴν πόλιν [αἰτῶν]. W. omits. καὶ φωνῇ. BS. brackets.

§ 110. [μόνον] τὸν ὄρκον. W. omits, the mss. varying the order.

§ 111. [τέκνα] τίκταιν. W. omits, the mss. varying the order.

ἦτταν δὲ [αὐτοῖς] εἶναι. W. omits, the mss. varying the order.

§ 114. δισχιλίας. BS. χιλίας.

ἀνδρὸς ἰδιώτου. W. ὁ ἰδιώτης.

§ 115. Λέκκιον 'of the deme Laccum' (Hesych.), a conjecture of P. A. Wolf for the att. Λέκκιον. But three mss. have ἐκ τοῦ, by which name two Attic demes were known; and it must perhaps be safer to take this. ἱερομνήμονα [Διόγνητον]. W. omits.

§ 116. ἐξηγγέλλετο. W. ἐξηγγέλλετο. The imperfect however better expresses that the information came from several persons. Cp. § 116.

ἐπέγραψεν. W. for the mss. ἐπεγράψαμεν. Schütz retains ἐπεγράψαμεν, but then he reads ἀποδοῦναι for ἀποδοῦναι, three mss. giving ἀποδοῦναι. But ἀποδοῦναι is supported by Himeration (S. v. ἀποδοῦναι) and it is harsh to have such a change of person in v. 15 compared so closely.

§ 118. ἐπῆλθε δέ μοι ἐπὶ τὴν γνώμην. W. ἐπῆλθε δ' ἐν μοι. Bz. refers αὐτοῦ to omitt ἐπὶ τὴν γνώμην. ἐπῆλθε is in four mss. only in A.

τῆς τῶν Ἀμφισσέων περὶ τὴν ἱερὰν ἀσεβείας. W. τῆς τῶν Ἀμφισσέων παρανομίας. There is a variant in the mss. of παρανομίας for ἀσεβείας; but W.'s deduction is a bold one. He says παρανομίας = ἀσεβείας. But is it definite enough?

Κιρραῖον. W. Κριταῖον as before.

§ 119. πεπρακότας. Harpocrit. for πεπραχότας of the mss. I have admitted this conjecture with some hesitation. Both words might be explained and defended. But perhaps the perfect best applies to the past action of the 'selling the customs,' the effect of which still remains, whereas 'you know that they have ceased' might mean that they have ceased to do so, which is contradicted by λαμβάνοντας.

§ 120. [τοῖς βωμοῖς] τὰ θέματα om. W., as the mss. vary the order.

§ 121. [τούτους] παρέντες om. W., the mss. varying the order.

καὶ τελευταῖον. W. om. καὶ τελευταῖον.

ἐν τῇ ἀρᾷ γέγραπται. Harpocration would omit, and it certainly seems like a gloss. W. brackets.

§ 122. ἦκειν ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ. W. brackets ἅμα, the mss. varying between ἅμα ἡμέρᾳ and ἅμα πρῶτον. But according to his usual principle it is ἅμα as he should have omitted; and it is that word which seems to me to be the right one. Both Schultz and Franke omit ἅμα.

τὸ Οὐτεῖον. Harpocration has Οὐτεῖον, but says that he has seen it written Οὐτεον.

§ 124. ἐκκλησίαν γάρ - θεῶ bracketed by W. and Harpocration as an unnecessary σχίσματιον. But I doubt whether this proceeding was very common.

ἐνταῦθ' ἤδη. W. omits ἤδη. Οὐκ οἶδ' ἀπορροῖα.

πολύς δ' ἔπαινος (ἦν). W. omits, though it is in nearly all mss. He does not say why.

§ 125. ἐκφέρεται προβούλευμα [εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν] om. W. after Dobson.

§ 126. ἤδη ἐπαναστάσης τῆς ἐκκλησίας om. W. after Dobson. B has ἐπ' ἀπελάσει τὴν ἐκκλησίαν.

καὶ τῶν πολλῶν δέ. W. om. καὶ τῶν πολλῶν δέ. § 127.

§ 127. τῶν Ἀθηναίων. W. om.

πρὸς ἡδονὴν λεγόμενον. W. omits. There is no need for the change.

§ 129. κατελθόντας διὰ τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων om. W. The mss. have καὶ κατελθόντας.

§ 131. ἄξιός (ἐ). W. omits, the mss. varying the order, and a few before ἐπὶ.

§ 133. περὶ τὴν τοῦ ἱεροῦ κατάληψιν om. W. after Dobson.

§ 135. μέγ' ἐπήγαγε πῆμα. BS. μέγ' ἐπὶ πῆμα.

ἀποτίνονται. BS. ἀποτίνονται.

§ 137. οὐ...οὐ. W. om. οὐ...οὐ.

§ 140. τὸν αὐτὸν πόλεμον. W. omits with Mull. Tylor. Harpocration; but restores in 1878.

[ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις] διεσκευασμένοι. W. omits.

§ 141. εἰς τὰς Θήβας - Δημοσθένης. W. brackets in 1878.

§ 142. [μόνον] ἐ. W. brackets in 1878.

ἀπὸ Θηβαίων om. W. But there seems to me an especial point in the words. Aeschines accuses Demosthenes of flattering the Thebans by speaking of them in regard of 'Bacotians' - as though they were the head of the confederacy. W. restores the words in 1878.

§ 144. τὰ τοῦτου. W. omits from B. The latter is perhaps the more natural, but the former is the more vituperative.

§ 146. ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος om. W.

ἐκ τοῦ στρατηγίου om. W., to say nothing of spelling the anastrophe. Ciceron inserts postea before στρατηγίου. W. inserts in (j).

§ 149. πρὸς Φίλιππον om. W.

ὡς [ᾤετο, τοῦτο] om. W.

§ 151. [τοὺς Βοιωτάρχας] ἀπεκάλεσε om. W., owing to the mss. varying the name. ἀπεκάλεσεν W. But it is not to be supposed that he went on calling them προδῆται.

[Θηβαίους] δίοδον om. W. But again he omits the fact that, looking on the Boeotarchs as traitors, he proposed to ask the Thebans this favour.

ἀπετράποντο. BS. ἀπετράποντο.

§ 152. W. 1878 brackets καὶ ἀνὰλαβήσαν and καὶ ἀνὰλαβήσαν τὸν πόλεμον.

τῶν τετελευτηκότων om. W. A has τετελευτηκότων.

καὶ συναποθανεῖται. W. A, which I think spoils the sense. 'And will you survive it, if Ctesiphon makes the proposal, and will you necessarily die along with the dead?' i.e. will you survive the misfortune? But what I am mean I do not know. He restores in 1878.

§ 154. ἐλευθερίως. Ciceron, W. for mss. ἐλευθέρως.

§ 156. καὶ τέκνα. W. καὶ τέκνα.

§ 158. πόλις [γάρ] om. W. A and B have γάρ.

ιδιώτης [ἀνὴρ] om. W. as A and B have.

§ 159. ἀπὸ τῶν πρώτων W. omits πρώτων with Reiske.

κατὰ μὲν τοῖς πρώτους χρόνους. Taylor om. W. brackets.

§ 160. μὲν Φίλιππος. W. om. Φίλιππος, not necessary, see on § 53.

εἰς αἰτίαν δὲ [εὐαγγελίων θυσίας] τὴν βουλὴν κατέστησεν. W. om. αἰτίαν δὲ εὐαγγελίων θυσίας. Might we

§ 202. κακοῦργον ἄνθρωπον. W. omits, cp. § 16. A² have *κακοῦργον*.

In 1878 W. brackets *κακοῦργον*—*ἀνθρωπον*.

§ 203. καὶ ὑπομνήσω. W. καὶ τοῖσι.

τῶν δημοσίων ἀδικημάτων. W. (1878) τῶν ἀδικημάτων τῶν δημοσίων.

ἔχων [λέγειν] οὐκ. W. A² and B reverse the order.

§ 205. βούλεται οὐκ. W. Many mss. have *βούλει* A². If *βούλεται* is to be omitted in either clause, I think it is in the latter of the two.

§ 206. τοὺς τοῦ πράγματος λόγους. W. τοῦ πράγματος with A².

αὐτοῦ [τῶν λόγων] οὐκ. W.

§ 208. πρὸς τοὺς αὐτοὺς. Bude, omits.

ὧν...ὑπάρχον. C² omits, W. brackets.

§ 210. ὁ δ' ἄγὼν οὐκ ἀτίμητος. W. omits. I hope to find still it is difficult to see how it came into the text: it implies nothing, and involves some difficulties.

§ 211. [ἐπένθησε καὶ] ἐκέρατο. W. omits, as the mss. reverse the order.

§ 212. τῶν Μειδίου. W. brackets in 1878.

οὐ κεφαλὴν. W. 1418 ἀλλὰ σκεπάζον αὐτὸν πύργων ἀλλὰ πύργων, from the conjecture of Tour and Westermann.

§ 217. εἶναι βουλοίμην. W. εἰποῖμαι. Bude's position the absence of *εἶναι*. If *εἰποῖμαι* stands, *εἶναι* must be carried from the next clause. W. in 1878 *εἶναι βουλοίμην*.

§ 218. ἃ βούλει. W. ἃ βούλει. A needless multiplicity I think; the meaning of *βούλει* is more than adequate enough.

§ 219. ταῦτό. C² omits. But see Meisner, p. 127, 9, 10.

§ 220. δημηγορεῖ B² k. omits, B² k. omits.

§ 223-4. W. κατεσκευάσθησαν ἐκτελέσθησαν τῶνδε. But in 1878 *κατεσκευάσθησαν ἐκτελέσθησαν*.

καὶ παρὰ τῷ αὐτῷ κατήγου. W. παρὰ τῷ αὐτῷ κατήγου. In 1878 *παρὰ τῷ αὐτῷ κατήγου*.

τῆς αὐτῆς τραπέζης ἔφαγες. W. τῆς αὐτῆς. But omits *τῆς* in 1878.

ἄνδρα φίλον καὶ ξένον ποιούμενος καὶ οὐκ. W. A² καὶ ἀπὸ φίλου καὶ ξένου.

ὁ δῆμος. W. καὶ ὁ δῆμος.

§ 225. [ἐν τῇ πόλει] νεωτερίζαν. W. omits, as the mss. A² and B reverse the order.

ἃ ἐπιτηδεύσας ἂν ἐγένετο. W. 2^a *ἂν ἐγένετο*.

§ 228. ἀγανακτῶ μάλιστα. W. 2^a (1878) καὶ μάλιστα ἀγανακτῶ.

καὶ γὰρ ἐπ' ἐκείνων οὐ κηλεῖσθαι φησι. W. καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνων οὐ κηλεῖσθαι φησι. In 1878 *καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνων οὐ κηλεῖσθαι φησι*.

§ 229. οὐ τὴν γλώτταν. W. 2^a *τὴν*.

§ 230. εὖθυναί. B² omits.

§ 231. ἀνάνδρον [αὐτόν] εἶναι οὐκ. W. A² and B reverse the order.

§ 232. οὐ κυκλίων χορῶν κριταί. W. οὐ κριταί χορῶν. The mss. have *ἐκ κυκλίων*.

κριταὶ καθεστηκότες. B² omits *κριταί*.

§ 233. αὐτὸς τὴν. W. from A² *τὴν αὐτόν*.

δὲ αὐτόν. ἀμάρτημα. W. omits after Bude.

ἡ γὰρ ψήφος ἀφανὴς φέρεται. W. omits after Bude.

§ 234. φορὰ [καθ' ἡμᾶς]. W. omits, as the mss. reverse the order.

πρότερον μὲν [γὰρ]. W. γὰρ, but restores *γὰρ* in 1878.

κατέλυσαν τὸν δῆμον. W. κατέλυσαν. Some mss. have *κατέλυσαν*.

ἐνεχείριζε. W. (1878) ἐνεχείριζε.

§ 235. ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ τῶν B. W. from B² *αὐτῶν* *αὐτοὶ*. A² *αὐτοὶ* *αὐτοὶ* *αὐτοὶ*.

ταφᾶς καὶ. W. brackets (1878).

μέννησθ'. W. from C² *μέννησθ'*.

[πρότερον] τῇ. W. brackets (1878).

§ 236. ὁμολογησαίμην. W. *ὁμολογησαίμην* from A².

στεφανῶσαι. W. *στεφανῶσαι*. A² *στεφανῶσαι*.

λέγας. W. 1878 *λέγας*.

τὰς [δημοσίας] ταφᾶς. W. omits, as the mss. vary the order. In 1878 *τὰς [δημοσίας] ταφᾶς*.

§ 238. ἐνέγραψεν. B² *ἐνέγραψεν* *ἐν τῇ ἐπιτομῇ*.

§ 241. λέγοντα εἰς ὑμᾶς. W. omits.

ἐγκωμιάσει. W. after C² *ἐγκωμιάσει*.

- § 242. ποίησαι. W. omits after B. l. 107.
 συναχθεσόμενος. Cobet. HS. with mss. συναχθόμενος.
 § 243. ἅμα [σοι]. W. omits, as the mss. reverse the order.
 ἀπέκτεινε. W. (1872) ἀπέκτεινε. (1878) ἀπέκτεινε.
 § 244. Δημοσθένης δ' εἰάν τις ἐρωτᾷ διὰ τί οὐ δώσετε; ὅτι.
 W. (1872) Δημοσθένης δ' αὖ. ὅτι. (1878) Δημοσθένης δ' αὖ.
 ὅτι.
 § 245. τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, εἰάν ἐπερωτῶσιν. W. omits - εἰάν ἐπερωτῶσιν.
 εἰάν is omitted in A. and is omitted in B.
 τί κρινεῖτε; W. omits with A.
 § 246. τὰ δημόσια [κρηρύγματα]. W. omits. A¹ has τὰ δημόσια
 διεφθάρη. W. διεφθάρηται.
 νοθετεῖν [ἐνταῦθα] ἐνοχλεῖν. W. omits as the mss. reverse
 the order of the two last words.
 ἤδη [καὶ] δικαίως. W. omits with textual mss.
 § 247. θεωρούμενοι. W. θεωρούμενοι, and makes a lacuna,
 with HS.
 § 249. [ξενικῶν] στεφάνων. W. omits after B. l. 107.
 ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλησιν om. W.
 § 250. ἡ οὐ δεινὸν [δοκεῖ ἔμιν εἶναι] εἰ. W. omits. B. l. 108
 has εἰς ὅτι with A.
 § 252. τὰς ἀτυχίας τῆς πόλεως. W. ἀτυχίας τῆς πόλεως,
 with A.
 [ὅς] ἐκπλεῖν om. W. and adds λέγον with HS. mss.
 ἐκπλεύσας [ιδιώτης]. W. omits, as A¹ and B reverse the
 order of the words.
 εἰσηγγέλθη [καὶ ἴσαι αἱ ψήφοι αὐτῷ ἐγένοντο]. W. omits,
 the mss. reversing the order.
 § 256. [πρεσβεύσας] ἐξελέσθαι τοῦ Φιλίππου. W. omits,
 as the mss. reverse the order; and adds τῷ with two mss.
 for τῷ.
 § 257. ἄνδρα φιλόσοφον καὶ νομοθέτην ἀγαθόν. W. omits.
 Cf. § 108.

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